INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

PROCEEDINGS OF THE
ELEVENTH SESSION, DELHI

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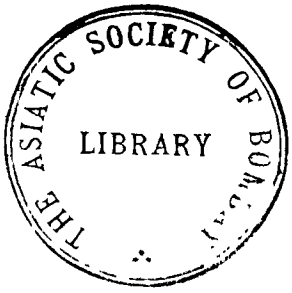

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PREFACE

I have great pleasure in presenting the Proceedings of the Eleventh Session (Delhi) of the Indian History Congress. I am really sorry that owing to various circumstances, this Volume has been long delayed in its publication. I crave the indulgence of the members.

2. The papers printed in the Volume have been included on the recommendation of the Sectional Presidents, for it has not been possible to print all the papers which were read at the Sectional Meetings.

BISHESHWAR PRASAD
General Secretary

Simla, 30th July 1951

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INAUGURAL ADDRESS

By

SIR SRINIVASA VARADACHARIAR

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Ladies and Gentlemen,

In the unavoidable absence of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the privilege of inaugurating this Congress has been assigned to me.

Addressing a gathering like the one assembled here, I have no desire to minimise the value of the work done by Indian scholars and workers in the field of historical study and research during the last thirty or forty years. But it would be neither unnatural nor improper on an occasion like this to turn our attention to what remains to be done. A due appreciation of the task lying ahead of us seems calculated to deprive us of much of the satisfaction we can derive from the contemplation of what we may think we have achieved. I shall take, by way of illustration, one or two recent pronouncements of some leading representatives from amongst you.

Addressing the Patna Session of your Congress, Prof. Nilakanta Shastri is reported to have deplored the diminution in the number of students studying Arts subjects in general and history in particular. Addressing the same Session, the Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University seems to have observed "I feel that the History of India has yet to be written". In his presidential address to the Session at Annamalainagar, Dr. Tarachand is reported to to have made the following observation: "Much has been accomplished, but more remains to be done The serious gap is the absence of a synoptic view of the social and cultural development of India. Indian History has so far been presented only in fragments."- As if to confirm this, Prof. Nilakanta

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Shastri observed in his Patna address: "The task of co-ordination and a large-scale interpretation of the material especially of the History of Ancient India has not progressed far enough". These extracts indicate the two-fold task which has to be grappled with by those who are interested in and are responsible for the advancement of historical studies; briefly, I may say, one is a moral problem; the other is a practical problem.

The seriousness of what I have called the moral problem has been recognised in the West even more than in India. A few days ago, in the course of a speech Sir Stafford Cripps is reported to have said :"In the world as it is today, material advance has outstripped spiritual. In the period after the war, the whole world has the appearance of being in a moral decline. The standard of international, and very often of national, morality taken in a broad political sense seems to be going back rather than going forward. It is important that we should revive the spiritual power of mankind". Cordell Hull, the American Secretary of State, observes in his Memoirs: "In political and economic affairs, the human race has suffered a steady decline and it will not do to put every one to sleep by singing of our progress in Science and invention. We have a desparate need for more religion and morality as the back-ground for Government. The religious and moral foundations for thought and conduct require strengthening".

Recognition of the gravity of this problem in this country is evident from the terms of reference to the Universities Commission which has been recently appointed. In the questionnaire issued by the Commission, you find the following questions:—"Are you satisfied with the place that is given to the teaching of humanities in Indian Universities? Has an endeavour been made to maintain a sound balance between the humanities and the sciences? How do you foster love of country, citizenship, etc; and ensure against a narrow nationalism and also develop a world consciousness? Is there adequate provision for advanced study and research in our Universities in respect of Indian Philosophy,

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Indian History and Culture, Indian Literature and Languages ?" We may trust Dr. Radhakrishnan and his eminent colleagues to give the right guidance and the best lead in respect of questions like the above. But I very much wish, if I may, to remind this Congress that it owes a duty to help to solve this moral and educational problem because many of you are not merely historians but are also actively engaged in educational work.

In my anxiety to see a correct solution of the above problem reached and realised as quickly as possible, I have been wondering whether my appeal should be addressed to historians or to politicians. About the influence which political leaders can exercise towards this end, there can be little doubt. But it has been said that history and politics belong to entirely different planes. Bernard Shaw, in his downright manner has stated: "The politician who once had to learn to flatter kings has now to learn how to fascinate, coax, humbug or threaten the electorate". Some even among the more moderate writers consider a conflict between "ethics" and "politics" inevitable; but they recognize that moral factors can at least qualify if not eliminate social conflicts. Others still hold that ethics and politics are interwoven and they cannot be isolated from each other. It seems fair to recognise that not all politicians belong or need belong to what has been described as the "perverted" type; and in India, Gandhiji's influence has for more than a generation been continuously exerted to lift politics to a moral plane. We thus have both room and need for co-operation between politicians and historians, their work being complementry.

If I may be pardoned for a seeming digression, I would like to draw attention here to the possibility of the theory of "secular state" being misunderstood and misapplied. As a negative ideal dissociating the machinery of the State from active encouragement to any particular form of religion, it may be unobjectionable, but I see attempts to give it a positive interpretation in favour of the encouragement of an exclusively secular or materialistic

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outlook in life. The danger of such a course cannot be ignored in an age in respect of which it will not be far from the truth to say that "Truth has come to be what the State decides to be true and knowledge what the State has decided that individual should believe".

The passages that I have quoted above from Sir Stafford Cripps and Cordell Hull show that those who have been in the thick of politics recognise the need for moral reconstruction. In this task, there is much that a proper study of history as part of the humanities can help to achieve. There is no doubt a school of thought which lays more stress on the material lessons of history; and another school goes further and asserts that the study of history has no purpose or value because history never repeats itself and the sequence of events in history does not follow any clear law on the strength of which a knowledge of the past can be relied on to help to predict or regulate the course of events in the future.

This Congress, I take it, by its very existence and aims, repudiates these theories as to the futility of historical studies. Historical study, it has been said, has a two-fold use: the collection of an indispensable knowledge of facts and the equally indispensable cultivation of historical imagination. A proper interpretation and appreciation of the past is bound to be of immense value in the task of reconstruction.

It is now increasingly realised that there is no inherent conflict between science and the humanities. But the distinctive feature of civilization today is the "disparity between its wisdom and its power"; hence significance of the system of education to be pursued. People must be induced to see what ends are right. The question "What should man will and desire" is at least as important as the question. "How are they to accomplish what they will and realise what they desire. Even the most ardent apostle of science cannot claim that science can explain the *purpose* (as distinguished from the *processes*) of human existence.

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It is the lesson of history that ideas have had more influence than facts, because ideas influence character. It has sometimes been doubted whether there can be such a thing as philosophy of history. It is, however, stated as the view of the great philosopher Kant that "The study of history must inspire a paralysing pessimism which only a philosophy of history can cure. This philosophy consists in the hypothesis that our race is destined to realise all its moral and intellectual qualities and that as the only means to this end it would attain perfect internal government and perpetual peace in a world federation". Science, even the doctrine of evolution, no longer asserts with any confidence the theory of the inevitability of progress. Our hopes for progress and belief in a moral order must, therefore, rest more upon faith and intuition than on reason and proof. Such faith can at least be sustained by a proper study of history and a due appreciation of its teachings.

Even apart from such high aims, the study of history has a more immediate and practical value for us to-day. The world is passing through a great moral crisis and in India it is now more true than ever before that we are entering on a new era. It is the duty of every one of us to have a clear understanding. It has been said that the most dangerous of all states of national psychology is that which developes at a time of transition from inferiority to equal or superior strength. It combines the resentment of weakness with the arrogance of strength. There is a saying that a man's worst difficulties begin when he is free to do what he likes. This is equally true of countries and nations. In the endeavour to lead our country to what is claimed to be its destiny, our leaders constantly remind us of our heritage and our glorious past. How can this be ensured except by a widespread and accurate knowledge of the country's history? But a knowledge limited only to the history of one's own country, is calculated to create a narrow outlook and a dangerous nationalism. For convenience of study, history may be divided with reference to

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spatial divisions, just as it may be divided with reference to periods of time. But in truth, neither the one division nor the other can be real. If the true significance of history is to be realised. it must be studied as a whole both in time and in space. It is my earnest appeal to you that you should not take a narrow view of your position or functions, but must by all legitimate methods open to you, strive to create in the younger generation a deep and abiding interest in the study and understanding of history and to ensure that educational courses in the country are so organised that every young man or woman will have abundant opportunities of acquiring such knowledge and understanding.

If your efforts in the direction that I have so far pressed on you are successful, you will come face to face with the second question that I have set out above. You will naturally be asked where are the books for us to study, in respect of the history of our own country. I remember the paucity of books available to the student of Indian History in my student days. The position has, no doubt, improved since; but nothing like what one should like to see. Let me take a few topics which are of more than academic interest even to-day and see what light any student may derive thereon, from the books available to him even to-day.

A subject like the Fundamental Elements of the Indian Civilization is one of perennial interest. There was at one time, I believe, a controversy as to whether the story of the Aryan migration was not a myth. I do not know if even now the controversy can be said to have been set at rest. Assuming the truth of the Aryan migration into India and the import of Aryan civilization, its relation and reaction to the pre-existing civilizations of the land have received very little elucidation. Of the Mohenjodaro civilization there has been little expansion in our knowledge during the last 50 years. Even if a particular city (or cities, if we include Harappa) now found in the

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ruins has been swept away by floods, one wonders why nothing resembling it can be traced in the neighbourhood or why that civilization did not spread to other parts of the country. The writings assumed to exist in some of the finds there still remain undeciphered and uninterpreted. It will do no credit to us if we should wait for Western savants to do it for us. Take again, the Dravidian civilization. We know very little of it yet beyond what can be inferred from descriptions and references in literature. What exactly was its relation to Aryan civilization on the one hand and to the Mohenjodaro civilization on the other? As some of you may be aware, this question of Aryan vs. Dravidian threatens to become a serious controversy in South India. Coming to more recent times, let us take the question of the relations between Hindu and Muslim civilizations and cultures. There are those who honestly stick to the view that the twain can never meet. It will scarcely convince them if those who assert or advocate a fusion merely point to a few buildings and some paintings in proof of such fusion or its possibility. Subjects like these require and deserve a thorough and dispassionate historical treatment.

Let me next turn to another topic of equal interest and importance, namely, the claim for and assertion of the unity of India. If geography seems to have destined India to be a united country by the way that its boundaries have been laid, it seems also to have defeated that purpose by the vastness of its extent; and the country's ethnological and physiographical conditions have emphasised this obstacle to unity. Appeal has sometimes been made to the verdict of history on the point. Not much has, however, yet been proved as to the nature and extent of the kind of political unity that existed in the land, in what are assumed to be the halcyon days of Indian history, the period of Asoka, the days of the great Guptas, or the days of Harshavardhana or even during the best days of the Moghul rule. If the picturesque description "Unity in diversity" is all that we can affirm on this point, we shall be left very much where the Vedanta philosophy from

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which the expression has been borrowed has left us.

Turning to the administrative unit at the other extreme, namely, the village, we hear tall claims made for village self-government based on its ancient history. We nevertheless have very little detailed knowledge of it as it existed in historical times beyond what is given in the descriptions recorded by the early Anglo-Indian administrators. When certain theories were formulated on the strength of what are known as the Uttaramerur inscriptions in South India, the word of caution was immediately uttered that there was little warrant for assuming that institutions like those described were universally prevalent even in South India. Theories of village government formulated by Sir Henry Maine and others like him were based more on what was found in other countries and it was merely assumed that similar conditions must have existed in India. Recently, I had occasion to collect materials calculated to throw light on the methods of administration of Justice that obtained in India between the close of the Smriti period and the advent of the British. I was disappointed to find that very little information was available.

Another subject of topical interest today is that concerning the ties between India and the neighbouring countries of Ceylon and Indonesia. We claim that these ties have been ancient and take pride in the knowledge that Indians went to these lands not for the purpose of exploitation and conquest but as messengers of religion and civilization. But how much information have we so far been able to collect as to the time when and the circumstances under which these missions and the large population movements connected with them took place. We seem to know more about what happened after they settled down in Sumatra and Java than as to how it happened.

I do not wish to multiply this list. I only wish to emphasise what has often been said, that there is a great deal yet to be done before we

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can feel that a citizen of India, young or old, has the necessary facilities for making an intelligent and appreciative study of the history of his country and its civilization. We have yet to go a long way in the collection of the necessary materials and longer still in presenting a synoptic view of them.

I am aware that some years ago the Bharatiya Itihasa Parishad planned the production of a history of India in 20 volumes; but only a few of the volumes seem to have so far been published. In his address at Patna, Prof. Nilakanta Shastri referred to the publication from Dacca of the first volume of the History of Bengal. I have no idea of the scheme of this publication nor do I know whether any more volumes in that series have been published. Four years ago, at the Madras session, Dr. Sen referred to the endeavours of this Congress and of the Bharatiya Itihasa Parishad. Dr. Sen informed me the other day that one volume in this new series is now ready for publication. While I do not underrate the difficulties in the way, I join Prof. Nilakanta Shastri in lamenting the slowness of the pace at which these schemes are progressing. I have no doubt that the Government of the country as it is constituted today will appreciate the need for giving every help in its power towards the early fruition of the scheme; but it is for you gentlemen to supply the enthusiasm and the industry required.

It is time that I bring these desultory observations to a close. In view of the heavy and interesting agenda that awaits your attention, it will not be right for me to detain you longer I have great pleasure in inaugurating this Congress and I wish you God-speed in your labours.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

Mahamahopadhyaya Datto Vaman Potdar,

To be called upon to occupy the Presidential *gadi* of the Indian History Congress is the most signal honour that this Commonwealth of the devotees of Indian History could bestow upon a fellow-student. Last year, when we met in Bombay, you decided to call me to this exalted office. To me, a call from the Indian History Congress is more than a command. And here I stand before you to serve you as best as I can. I am sure, the same affection which my predecessors have enjoyed from you in the past will continue to be showered on me in abundance and enable me to discharge my duties with success!

The Indian History Congress, as you are all aware, took its birth in Poona in 1935. Having met in several important centres since then, it has this year entered Delhi, the great historic capital of India. Two circumstances mark out the special significance of this occurrence: the first, that Delhi is no longer an Imperial Capital but it is the seat of the Government of the Free Indian Union; and the second, that we meet here, not at the behest of any Great Moghul but at the invitation of an academic body the University of Delhi.

But all the pleasure and pride of this significant occasion have been overshadowed by the heinous darkness of a third circumstance which has cast its gloom not only over India but over the whole world thirsting for human happiness and peace. I mean the cold blooded murder of Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Indian Nation. The greatest messenger of Truth and Non-Violence in the present age, Mahatma Gandhi was the one hope of humanity at the present juncture. His was a personality that lives even through death and his spirit will ever be with us to soothe our aching hearts and guide us on the path of our

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onward march towards our great destiny. Mahatma Gandhi is dead. Long live the Mahatma !

To day the Indian History Congress has again brought the two great and historic cities of Poona and Delhi together. Strange to say, the tragic event referred to above has also put both these places on the map together but in a ghastly way. It rarely happens thus in history. Let us hope this proves a passing phase, since the people in both places are enthusiastically moving forward to play their role honourably and well in the new set-up of Free India. Poona, where we first met in 1935, has now got a new University, and Delhi, after the lapse of its glory in the days of the Great Moghuls, and restored to its former eminent position by the British, seems elated, as since now over the State buildings waves proudly the Tricolor flag of the Indian Union. Its University, whose hospitality has enabled us to meet here to-day, is making steady progress. Let us hope, it soon developes into a great seat of learning and spreads its name and fame far and wide, not only in India but even outside, so that hither will travel seekers after truth and knowledge from distant lands.

The University of Delhi deserves our hearty congratulations as it has also extended its invitation to the Indian Historical Records Commission. The Commission had decided to hold its Silver Jubilee this year. This great function came to a successful termination just yesterday. Thus the members of the Commission and the members of the Congress have had the good fortune to meet each other together and the bonds of co-operation have been naturally strengthened. In fact, the demand was often pressed that the two organisations should hold their meetings at one and the same place and during the same week. In spite of the anxiety of the organisers of both, this much longed for adjustment could be but rarely fulfilled. This year this wish has been realised to the great satisfaction of all concerned.

Delhi is surely a name to conjure with. It takes our minds back to the hoary past and revives the memories of Indra Prastha and the Pandavas. Ruins haunt us in this land of the Seven or Twelve

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Cities on all sides. A dip in the Surya Kund, a view of the high walls of Tughlakabad, a skyward gaze at the famous Qutub Minar, an inspection of the ancient iron pillar, a visit to the sacred Nigamabodha Ghat and a stroll in the grand Purana Qillah and round the marvellous Jama Masjid, not to mention more, at once unite us with the past and for a moment, we seem to breathe in historic air. Could there be a better place selected for historians to meet? Here round about us in this place, I feel the invisible presence of all those great actors of the past. They must have assembled here with a curiosity to listen to our deliberations.

Among these invisible visitors, surely, there must be some who once were known as the Aitihaikas (ऐतिहासिकाः) or historians. As pointed out to us in his Presidential Address at Allahabad by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Itihasa (इतिहास) was surely a respectable branch of learning in Ancient India. The following interesting extract will strengthen the view. It is from the Itihasopanishad (इतिहासोपनिषद्) said to belong to the Yajurved (यजुर्वेद). (The manuscript is noted as No. 298 in the Madras Oriental Collection). The dignity of an Upanishad (उपनिषद्) herein granted to History surely deserves commendation. Here is the extract:—

॥ इतिहासोपनिषद् ॥

"वृषादर्भिकुलं वै शिबिकुलं बभूव । तस्यायमितिहासः कुलविद्या बभूव । तद्यो ह स्मेममधीत । सह स्म राजा भवति । स किंचित्प्राप्यान्तर्तिः । सो ह ब्रवीत् । यो मामितिहासं ग्राहयेत् । वरमस्मै दद्यामिति । ततो ब्रह्मणः संयोग संयुयुजेत् तमादित्यपुरुषो भास्करवर्णो निष्क्रम्य त एनं ग्राहयाँचकार । तमपृच्छत् कोऽसीती । वा वृषामार्विरिती । तस्माद्य इममितिहासमधीते । आदित्यलोके स कामचारी भवति । तस्माद्य इममितिहासमुपनीतो माणवको ग्रण्हीयात् । गृहीत्वाऽथ ब्राह्मणान् श्रावयेत् । मेधावी भवेत् । वर्षशतं च जीवेत् ॥"

Granting that the said Upanishad may not be very old, yet the idea expressed therein raising

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History to the status of an Upanishad is a very appropriate one and it lends support to the view that the Itihas tradition lingered on in India, feebly may be. The great Kalhana and the numerous epigraphic records bear, no doubt, ample testimony in the matter. The Vanshavlis वंशावली the Pattavlis पट्टावली etc. have set up a valuable practice which we find continued by the Bhats (भाट) and Charans (चारण) in Rajputana. The late Dr. Tessitori made very commendable efforts to publish some of them. The practice of giving in writing recognition to the priests of such holy places as Nasik, Allahabad, Gaya, Banaras, Verul, Pandharpur, Paithan etc, continues to this day, and may be classed as falling in the same category. Some of these latter writings have been scrutinised and have been found to be more than three hundred years old. These records supply very valuable and sometimes very authentic information as regards the genealogies, original residence, migration etc. of hundreds of families from all over India. They have as yet not received the serious attention they deserve, either from the official or from the non-official workers in the field of history.

This Aihasika or Historical tradition of Ancient India later became decadent. Under the Muhammadans the study of history again revived. But the real scientific study of history commenced with the coming of the Europeans in India. Very valuable work was done by the Europeans in the field of Indian history. For the first time, after a lapse of centuries, history came to be studied in a critical and scientific way. The Europeans, of course, led the way and we must remain ever indebted to them for this most precious work. As time rolled on, Indian scholars also came forward first slowly and individually and later on in larger numbers and through corporate bodies. To bring together these workers scattered over a wide area nd to co-ordinate their efforts the Indian History ongress was ushered into existence.

It was inevitable that this new stimulus to the study of history, received through the English language and under the British Rule, should have

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continued to be fostered through the same foreign medium. Manifold, indeed, are the benefits conferred by this study of the English language, thus enthroned in India. That the masses remained impervious and refused to be directly penetrated with the rays of English is an undeniable fact. After some time when the patriotism of the newly educated classes was roused, they felt the injury and perceived the mischief wrought by this process of the enthronement of English. The great Renaissance that followed, resulted in the dedication of a few precious and brilliant lives to the regeneration of the Indian languages. The struggle was a hard one and to-day when we have entered the hall of Freedom we are determined no longer to conduct our affairs through English except under compelling necessity, during the period of transition. To those among us who are already urging our taking the lead in the matter, I would in all humility, counsel a little patience, till our politicians have decided the issue. At the same time, I would like to emphasize that English will surely continue to enjoy in India, even hereafter, a place of honour consistent with its great utility for our advancement.

Coming back to the domain of history, it is obvious that whatever may be our policy in the matter of the retention or otherwise of the English language, no history properly so called of any part of India, could be written without an intensive and first-hand study of the original sources of the respective periods in the Indian languages concerned. To do the contrary would be unscientific and unjust. Thus, relying merely on the translations of Muslim chronicles given by Elliot and Dowson would not be quite proper and safe. We must really go to the originals. When this is not possible, say so plainly and do not try to pass off as an authority. True, there are so many Indian languages that one cannot be humanly expected to study them all. Authentic translations will have to be used. You can do so, provided you do not make extravagant claims.

India is as big as Europe and there is no wonder

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if we have so many languages here. At any rate when we undertake the study of the past history of India, we cannot ignore these languages. It is therefore, imperative that serious students of Indian history will have to be multi-lingual. To expect to have *all* the vast materials authoritatively translated into English or for the matter of that into any one other language called common, is to live in a fool's paradise. Some select material could, no doubt, be so treated. It would well serve the layman and hence needs to be done. But for the expert, no ; he cannot avoid studying sources in the original languages.

Thus the problem we have to face is not simple. It is complicated enough and yet not insoluble, if approached in a spirit of realism. India, though in extent as vast as Europe, was never cut up by separate and well-formed warring nations. We had warring states. We had long recognised a Central Imperial power. Besides, our philosophers, saints and prophets have always fostered a spirit of humanism and universalism in us. Our village organisations have always taught us to live together. The spirit of tolerance that breathes throughout our whole life, has lessened the rigours of our wars and conflicts. I would only cite here one striking illustration in support of this view. When Nadir Shah came down upon India, Bajirao Peshwa appealed to his brother Chimaji in these significant words— "Appa! If foreign rule (i. e. Nadir Shah's power) is established, it will engulf all". Similar sentiments have been expressed in his letters by Yeshwant Rao Holker when fighting against the English. Other instances from other parts of the country could be quoted further in support. There has thus flowed a current of underlying unity throughout our history. We have looked upon India as one and India as our own dear land. 'Live and let live' has been our time-honoured policy. We are essentially a peace-loving and Godfearing people.

Under the British we became further united in a variety of ways. And now when we have become free and independent, we have to strive our utmost, not only to maintain but to so strengthen this sense of essential unity of India and its

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peoples that no power, however great, either within or without, will dare do us any harm.

And yet India has been a land of many languages. Its varied culture and history have flowered through them. Here again we must not forget that the several Indian languages have also much that is common at the root. So the problem of many languages need not frighten us at all and the bogey of 'Linguism' raised of late by some is a mere exaggeration. We have to co-operate and turn the course of these languages through happier and richer channels to the lasting service of our common mother-land.

We historians have, therefore, to bestir our selves. The Indian History Congress must be made more active. We cannot be satisfied with an annual meeting for three days. We must deepen our contacts. We must organise regional and other such committees, where none exist, utilise such local agencies as are working, take stock of the work done, note the difficulties, chalk out a programme of future work and submit our reports for the benefit of the Annual General Meeting, with concrete suggestions for the furtherance of our studies and the advancement of our aims.

Perhaps it will then be possible to persuade our Universities to depute students and experts on an exchange basis from one part of the country to another, so that they will be able to come into direct contact with the work at different centres, study the language and culture of the places and thus equip themselves better for their tasks. Such a step would facilitate the strengthening of the history courses in our Universities wherein we will then more readily include original sources in the Indian languages. At present, these sources are more avoided than included. We might further be justified to include the study of one of the Indian languages in addition to the language of the region, as a compulsory subject. These and such other steps will provide us with students properly equipped with a correct appreciation of our fundamental unity. If they conduct and guide the work of historical research in India, we need have no fears that disruptive tendencies will destroy the fabric of our nation

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History, as it is now understood, must be a history of the people as a whole. The common man can no longer be suffered to be neglected. In this larger context, we can not merely rest satisfied with a study of historical documents properly so called. But we must extend our studies to literature, art, folklore, beliefs etc, to draw up an accurate picture of the common man. Thus alone, will we be able to depict the life of the people in our histories. A minute study of the literary and other sources has to be undertaken to secure this end, which is not possible without an intensive study of the Indian languages and literatures.

People speaking one language and inhabiting one part of the country naturally develop a pattern of life with its own peculiarities, over and above those which they enjoy in common with the surrounding groups, speaking languages different from their own. Each of such peoples deserves a separate study of their life and the composite picture, based upon the studies of all these comprising groups, and drawn with a correct perspective would form the true history of India as a whole. It is this grand achievement, which we should aim at.

To reach the goal sketched in the foregoing would indeed take a long time. It would need an army of well-trained and properly equipped workers. We must make determined and sustained efforts towards the goal. On my side of the country the great Rajwade, the founder of the Bharat Itihasa Samshodhak Mandala, worked zealously throughout his life in a spirit of thorough dedication and laid the foundations, strong and secure. The Akhand Jyoti lit up by him will never be extinguished. The achievements of other eminent workers, like the late Swaminath Ayyer in another part of the country, are a sure indication that this new spirit has taken a firm root in the land. The tree will take its own time to blossom forth and bear fruit.

The duties and responsibilities of a national government towards History are well-known. Its first care is its own Archives. We are indeed

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fortunate in having such a sincere friend of the cause of History as Dr. S.N. Sen as the Director of our National Achives. As he has been very closely associated with the Indian History Congress, since its foundation, he personally knows our needs and difficulties and has done his best to help all of us. His ambition to turn the National Archives of the Government of India into a model Archive yet remains unfulfilled. Now that we have the ex-General Secretary of the Indian History Congress, Dr. Tara chand, himself as the Secretary to the Ministry of Education in the Government of India, what better combination could we wish for? Our Education Minister Maulana Abul Kalam Azad is himself an eminent scholar. But the peculiarly critical situation through which our Free Indian Nation is passing to-day must have handicapped even such a brilliant Trio. All big schemes like the establishment of a Central Museum, the publication of the National Archives Series, the extension of the Archives Department, must have been held up till the financial situation is eased. But there are certain matters where finances do not come in your way. What, for instance, should prevent us from transferring old documents found exhibited in some of the Archaeological Museums of the Government, as for instance, those of Delhi and Bijapur, to the custody of the National Archives, where they could be more properly looked after? Is the Government Central Book Depot serving the cultural needs of the country satisfactorily? If not, could it not be better organised, without causing additional strain to our finances? I speak from experience. I know these are trifles. But I know such trifles even count.

The Indian Historical Records Commission has urged the passing of legislation, preventing the export of precious historical material. We of the Indian History Congress, do not for a moment desire that our antiquities, our manuscripts, our cultural, literary and historical treasures should any further be allowed to be depleted to foreign

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lands. Preventive legislation needs to be promptly undertaken. This, again, is a matter not dependent on finance. Personally, I feel that private collectors also require to be watched, guided and regulated. These and such other matters may be successfully carried through by a close co-operation between the official and the non-official workers and institutions. The meeting together in one place, this week, at Delhi, of the members of the Indian History Congress and the Indian Historical Records Commission augurs well for the future. The preparation of a National Register of historical documents in the country, undertaken by the Indian Historical Records Commission deserves our hearty support. May we hope, that with the blessings and help of Government it will one day be possible for us to hold a session of the World Congress of History in India! Or, at least, when another meeting of Asiatic representatives will be held here, will it be possible to take advantage of the opportunity so offered to organise a small conference of Asiatic scholars and representatives of the Indian History Congress, to exchange ideas and develop contacts? Further, since we now have our diplomatic representatives in foreign countries, will it not be advantageous to associate with them our historians in some form or other? Pardonable ambition this, I hope, especially when one is speaking in Delhi.

All the while it should seem as if I am thinking of only sources and documents but let me remind you that I am not unmindful of "the good-humored polemic" of Benedetto Croce on the subject. Mere documents are dry bones and Croce was wise when he said:—

"The Romans and Greeks lay in their sepulchres, until awakened at the Renaissance by the new maturity of the human spirit. The primitive forms of civilisation, so gross and barbaric, lay forgotten, or little regarded, or mis understood, until that new phase of the human spirit, which was known as Romanticism or Restoration "sympathised" with them, that is to say recognised them as its own proper present interest. Thus great tracts of history which are now chronicle for us, many documents now mute, will in their turn be

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traversed with new flashes of life and will speak again. These revivals have altogether interior motives, and no wealth of documents or narratives will bring them about".

We are determined to study documents but we also are not without our "interior motives". Why otherwise did the Indian History Congress undertake the preparation and publication of a "Comprehensive History of India ?"

Obviously the two processes shall have to go on simultaneously. With such documents as are available at the moment we attempt a synthesis, picture our achievements and failures and strike the balance. But the account books of knowledge are never closed. As more documents accumulate consequent additions and alterations are made. When these latter have accumulated, a fresh picture is drawn and so it goes on and goes forth.

As true historians our foremost duty is to serve the ends of truth and justice. While doing so, let us be frank and perfectly open-minded. We are not searching for facts in the spirit of litigants who are intent upon advancing their selfish interests. Rather, we act like judges. Once the facts are known, proved and admitted, we have no ulterior aims or claims to urge. We are Indians first and Marathas, Bengalis, Gujratis and the like afterwards. The latter epithets we could not honestly abjure. We could be honest good Indians and at the same time equally honest and good Marathas, Bengalis, Gujratis and the rest. The two epithets are not conflicting but complementary.

Indian thinkers of old produced a peculiar pattern of life in which particularism and universalism were cleverly and happily blended. This pattern does no longer suit us in the modern world. We are striving hard to evolve another. As for universalism, it is neither new nor foreign to us. Like Toynbee, therefore, we are "no longer

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in danger of being hypnotised by the lone and outlandish music of the parochial history of my own country". We, therefore, readily join him and echo his sentiments when he says :—

"History, seen in this perspective, makes, I feel, the following call upon historians of our generation and of the generations that will come after ours. If we are to perform the full service that we have the powers to perform for our fellow human beings—the important service of helping them to find their bearings in a unified world—we must make the necessary effort of imagination and effort of will to break our way out of the prison walls of the local and short-lived histories of our own countries and our own cultures, and we must accustom ourselves to taking a synoptic view of history as a whole". Is it correct to say that the history of India is "shortlived"? Toynbee is obviously somewhat perturbed by the failure of the Western Civilisation in bestowing lasting peace and happiness on mankind.

The atom bomb seems to have shattered and shaken the thinkers of Europe and America. Toynbee, in despair, exclaims: "If mankind is going to run amok with atom bombs, I personally should look to the Negrito Pygmies of Central Africa to salvage some fraction of the present heritage of mankind. They might be able to give mankind a fresh start." Of course, he has perhaps no hopes from us, of India! Emery Neff from America is not more hopeful. In concluding his recent thesis on 'poetry of History' he observes :—

"In prisons and in concentration camps, among the perils, the monotony, the anxieties of warfare, and now among the ruins of historic cities, the best minds of Europe have been meditating with unexampled intensity. They have seen Western civilisation brought low, not by barbarous aliens, but by pseudo-scientific notions exploiting the intellectual and moral backwardness of neglected, rootless masses. They face the possibility that the center of civilisation may pass to some other

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continent".

Thus tormented, and realising that "man's only dangers have come from man himself", Toynbee has turned to "'higher religions' with which in his view "the future of mankind in this world lies".

This is the pitiable condition of the thinkers of the world. We historians of India have, therefore, an opportunity to call up our spirits and exert our utmost in the supreme task of restoring Peace and Happiness to a war-worn Humanity. May we hope to take up the challenge ?

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SECTION I

ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY

UPTO 711 A. D.

President:

DR. NALINAKSHA DUTT.

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DR. NALINAKSHA DUTT

Friends and Colleagues,

Allow me first to express my gratefulness to the members of the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress for giving me the honour and the privilege of presiding over the deliberations of this Section of the Congress, dealing with over four thousand years of the ancient history of our country.

The period covered by this Section is extensive, commencing from the days of Harappa to the reign of Yasovarman (731 A.D.). It witnessed the rise and fall of a number of dynasties. There were among them only one or two which could boast of ruling over the major portion of India. Our political growth has in fact been regional, though the conception of *Chakravarti* had been prevalent from very early days. It is no good shutting our eyes to the fact that the whole of India formed rarely one political unit, but it is remarkable that the cultures of the various regions of India developed on the same uniform lines on account of one religion pervading them, be it Vedic or Brahmanic, Buddhistic or Vaishnavite, spreading all over India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and from Sind or Gujrat to Bengal or Andhra. The similarity of the cultures of the different provinces of India may well be compared to that of Europe and the Near East, as moulded by Christianity and Islam respectively.

I am happy to state that the researches carried on by Indian and European scholars during the last two or three decades have made great strides, and cleared off the haziness of many an aspect of the social, cultural, religious, economic and political history of the hoary past of India. In the pre-Vedic period, though there remains much to be done, we can now indicate the cultural strata at least by centuries instead of using such terms as paleolithic, megalithic, neolithic or chalcolithic and thus reduce to some extent the chronological vagueness. Regarding the Vedic or Epic period,

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we no longer trouble ourselves with *yugas* or *kalpas* for fixing the dates of the rulers mentioned in these early works.

Pre-Vedic period

A number of distinguished scholars is engaged in the elucidation of the pre-Vedic (better known as Indus Valley Civilisation), the foremost of them being Sir John Marshall, Ernest Mackay, Dayaram Sahni, C. J. Gadd, Sidney Smith, S. Langdon, G. R. Hunter, M. S. Vats, K. N. Dikshit and W. Norman Brown. The names of R. D. Banerji and N. G. Mazumdar deserve special mention, because the former made the epoch-making discovery of the location of Mohenjodaro, and the latter laid down his life to trace the line of settlement of the pre-Vedic people.

It has been our misfortune that scholars of very high standing with rare exceptions, whether of India or Europe, succumb to the notions formed in the early days of their studies. This is particularly in evidence among the writers on the Indus Valley civilization. For quite a long time, it has been held that the Egyptian or Sumerian civilizations, which came to light long ago, were much older than that of India, and that the Vedic Aryans had been foreigners, who came from a place in Asia Minor as confirmed by the find of the Boghazkoi inscription. It is this old hypothesis that led most of our scholars to trace in the finds of Harappa and Mohenjodaro some features common to those discovered in Sumer, Elam, Ur, Kish, and Tell Asmar (in Upper Iraq), as if no two separate primitive peoples could develop similar or mostly similar ideas in the making and painting of earthen wares, or in the shaping of beads, or as if no commercial intercourse could take place between the peoples of the Indus Valley and Asia Minor. Dr. E. Mackay, the reputed explorer of Kish and an authority on the early Indus Valley civilization, held provisionally that "the Proto-Elamites, the dwellers of Mohenjodaro and the Sumerians had a common ancestry", while some other scholars of his school of thought noticed a close resemblance between the Proto-Elamite script with those discovered in the Indus Valley. It is of course not at all improbable that the area from Mesopotamia to the Indus

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Valley was traversed by primitive peoples having the same level and similar type of culture. Sir Aurel Stein carried on investigations in North and South Baluchistan and traced links interconnecting the Indus Valley culture with that in Elam or Sumer.

As against this opinion of a group of scholars, there is another, mostly Indians, who looked upon India as a distinct cultural sphere, separated from all other countries of Asia by the impassable mountain barriers. They held that the dwellers of Harappa and Mohenjodaro developed their own civilization along the banks of the Indus, unaware of, or at least, uninfluenced by, the peoples of the West, much on the same lines as the Egyptians did on the banks of the Nile, or the Sumerians and the Babylonians did on the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris. Sir John Marshall was more in favour of this view, but he was not very explicit on this point in his monumental work on Mohenjodaro and its civilization, while W. Norman Brown, President of the American School of Indian and Iranian Studies, who undertook the excavations at Chanhudaro after a comprehensive study of the Indus Valley finds (see JAOS, vol. 59: Supplement) arrived at the conclusion that the Indus culture, especially that of Harappa, was unlike anything Mesopotamian or Iranian and that there existed even at that early date a characteristic Indic culture. A similar opinion was expressed by N.G. Mazumdar who wrote (see Arch, Survey, Memoir No. 48 p. 152) that "it could not be said that the inhabitants of Harappa and Mohenjodaro came from a place outside India, and that there was a distinct stamp of individuality in the household articles, art, and architecture of the Indus Valley people". He accounted for the commonness of some of the features of the finds in Sumer and Indus Valley as due to commercial intercourse between the two places. He agreed with Sir Aurel Stein in regard to some of the finds in Northern Baluchistan, e.g. Dabarkot, that these belonged to the cultural zone of the Indus Valley. He however was of opinion that the Nal (Baluchistan) culture was different from that of Mohenjodaro, and was allied to that of Sistan and

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other areas further afield. K. N. Dikshit pointed out that the Indus Valley people were not influenced by anything like the priesthood of Egypt, or the priest kings of Sumer, and that the worship of the Mother-Goddess, veneration for the Pipal tree, and sacrifice of goats at the altars, spoke of their affinity with the Indo-Aryans rather than with the people of Egypt or Sumer (See his *Prehistoric Civilization of Indus Valley* p. 33). On the other hand, his view was that the Indus Valley civilization extended eastwards over " the coastal regions of the Peninsula, the geater portion of Kathiawad, the valley of the N. W. Frontier Province and at least the Upper Doab, if not the whole of the Ganges Valley and possibly the whole of Rajputana" (Ibid. p. 13) M. S. Vats in his presidential address at the Madras session of the Indian History Congress stated that the paintings on wares reminded us of " the rites and rituals and beliefs found in the *Rig-Veda (X.* 14.16.18). He drew attention to the numerous stone circles and cairns found widely scattered in the Nilgiris, Malabar, Chingleput, Coimbatore, and Kurnool districts of the Madras Presidency, and the megalithic remains and burials reported from South India, Hyderabad, and other parts of the Deccan, as well as from Palamau to Dhalbhum near Tatanagar, Durgapur on the Damodar river, Central India and Mirzapur District in the United Provinces, and elsewhere. Like M. S. Vats, Cammiade, Richards, Krishnaswami and others noticed in Central, Southern and Western India several sites where Pre-Vedic antiquities were likely to be discovered.

From the above-mentioned conclusion drawn by different scholars, all of eminence and experience in the field of prehistoric antiquities, it is apparent that most of them tried to put on the basis of the scanty materials an interpretation derived from their pre-conceived notions.

In the decipherment of the Indus Valley script also, over which much ink has flown so far, the same tendencies are observed, resulting in the launching of widely divergent theories. Hunter's work in the field is the most exhaustive, but I am afraid the position can be made completely clear if by a stroke of good fortune a bilingual inscription be discovered

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like the Rosetta stone which threw a flood of light on the hieroglyphics of Egypt.

To-day, I can therefore only reiterate what has been said by many scholars that we need more excavations and more finds, the likely sites for which have already been indicated by N. G. Mazumdar. I am happy to note that the Government of India are making plans to carry on excavations in Bikaner and Jaisalmer States and have already started work at Sisupalgarh near Bhuvaneswara (see Bulletin of Education No. 60) where we may find something new to enlighten us about the Indus Valley culture. In the present political set up, there may be some difficulty in carrying on archaeological excavations in Sind, but we hope that the Governments of India and Pakistan will be able to co-operate in this cultural sphere, in which both should be equally interested. I wish that some scholars of India had been deputed to Sumer or Elam to acquire first-hand knowledge and experience of the sites and finds in order that they might utilise the same in connection with the excavations to be taken up at the pre-historic sites in India.

The Vedic Culture.

It has been generally accepted that the Indus Valley civilization was pre-Vedic though there are a few scholars like Dr. Laxman Sarup and Dr. A.D. Pusalkar (see *Bharata Kaumudi*, p. 561) who make the Vedic people anterior to the dwellers of Harappa and Mohenjodaro. There is no doubt that a wide gulf exists between the Indus Valley and the Rig-Vedic cultures, and it is only by further excavations and chance-finds that this gulf can be narrowed down. It is refreshing to find that after the excavations at Chanhudaro, Dr. Norman Brown has drawn up a chronology of the strata of the Indus Valley culture. He thinks that there were three strata in the Harappa culture alone, the fourth and fifth being that of Jhukar and Jhangar, the time of which may tentatively be placed about 1700 B. C. *i.e.* a little earlier than the time of the Rig-Vedic hymns.

The early Vedic scholars, who could not dream of the existence of the brick-built city in India,

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naturally assumed that the Rig-Vedic people lived in hamlets in pastoral villages like the ancient Greeks, Germans and Slavs. In the footnotes of his *Vedic Index*, Keith disclosed his difficulty in explaining the word "Pur" which should mean a walled city or rampart and so forth. If Keith had written his *Vedic Index* and Zimmer his *Alhindisches Laben* after the discovery of Mohenjodaro, the account of the Vedic people would have been different.

As regards the relation between the Indus Valley and Rig-Vedic cultures, it may be pointed out that the conception of the Mother-Goddess is not absent in the *Rig-Veda* (*e.g.* Matara in i. 155.3 ; ix. 2 & X. I. 7 ; *Janitri* in x. 110. 9) nor can it be said that female figures found at Mohenjodaro were all representations of the "mother-goddess". It is equally risky to find in *Sisna-deva* a reference to phallic worship, or to regard any conical or cylindrical stone or terra cotta as representatives of Siva.

It is therefore evident that a re-study of the Vedas in the light of the Indus Valley finds has become a necessity for a survey of Rig-Vedic culture.

The age of the Rig-Veda is not even yet above controversy, Keith pushing it back to 800 B.C. while Winterniz considering 2500 B.C. as not too early a date. Notwithstanding the discovery of the Boghazkoi inscription, Keith would adhere to his opinion in ascertaining the antiquity of the Vedas, and the references* in the early Pali texts are depended upon for the purpose of calculation. It should be observed that the hymn-composers, or the author of the Pali *suttas* do not speak a word about the ancient home of the Aryans outside India, There I think is a point to be considered in ascertaining the age and home of the *Rig-Veda*.

In the Pali *suttas*, it is stated more than once for establishing the *Pauruseyatva* of the Rig-Vedic

* Manavako ajjhayako mantadharo tinnam Vedanam paragu anighandu-ketubhanam sakkharappabhedanam itihasa-pancamanam sadako veyyakarano lokayata-mahapurisa-lakkhanesu anavayo, etc.

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hymns that their composers were Atthaka Vamaka, Vamadeva, Vessamitta, Yamataggi., Angirasa, Bharadvaja, Vasettha, Kassapa and Bhagu. Five of these risis were composers of the Rig-Vedic hymns, the rest being well-known teachers mentioned in the *Brahmanas* and *Srauta-sutras.* Prof. Nilkanta Sastri has traced a passage in the *Vayu-Purana* (lix.56 see his paper read at the Lahore Congress, pp. 77-79) in which he thinks that there is a reference to the *Pauruseyatva* of the Vedas. Prof. Nilkanta Sastri's discovery is interesting and deserves further investigation, as such investigations are likely to throw light on the age of the Rig-Veda.

Legendary Accounts of the Vedic Risi families

In the present state of our researches, it is not possible to establish the historicity of the Vedic hymn-composers but there are in the Vedas, Epics and the Puranas many myths and legends about these risis or their families. Prof. Zimmer has done some work in this field (see his *Studien Zur Geschichte des Gotras,* Berlin 1914) and probably Prof. Renu has thrown some light on the same subject in his recent work "Les ecoles Vedique et la formation du Veda" (1941) a recent publication which has not yet come to our hands. Mr. J. Brough (see JRAS 1946) regards the *Pravara-adhyayas* a most interesting picture of the growth of the Brahmanical society, throwing light on the nature of the so called hymn-families of the Rig Veda. Dr Sukhthankar has shown the way by his paper on the "Bhrigus and the Bharata"(*ABORI,* XVIII) and very recently, Dr. N.J. Shenda has written a valuable paper on "Atharvan in the Vedic and Epic literature" (Journal of the University of Bombay, 1948). We hope some young scholars will collect the myths and legends and offer us a descriptive account of the families of Gritsamada, Visvamitra, Atri, Vamadeva, Gautama, Bharadvaja, Vasistha, Kanva and Angirasa.

The commentaries on Mantras

Besides the myths and legends there is a stock of traditional lore relating to the meaning of the mantras preserved in the various pre-Sayana and post-Sayana commentaries, e.g., those of Yaska,

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Durga, Skandasvamin. Harisvamin, Mahisvara Madhava, Udgitha, Uvata, Halayudha, Satraghna and Devaraja. The great value of traditional interpretation of Vedic mantras was pointed out long ago by the two masterminds Pischel and Geldner. Hitherto the commentary of Sayana and philological analyses formed the main bases for interpretation of the mantras. It is a matter for gratification that the Vedic Research Institutes of Poona, Wai (Satara), and Lahore have taken up the laudable task of publishing revised editions of the Vedic texts and their commentaries, but we need more scholars and more societies to expedite the publication of the voluminous works. Halayudha furnishes us with valuable information relating to the position of the Vedic studies at the time of Laksmana Sena, to whose court he belonged. His *Brahmana-sarvasva* contains interpretation of as many as 400 mantras used in the domestic ceremonies of the followers of the Sukla-Yajurvedic School. Unfortunately to-day we have only a shabby edition of this valuable work. The number of Indian scholars working on Vedic texts can be counted on fingers and we have really to look to the European savants for the interpretation of our ancient texts, though we do not miss an opportunity to strut about, speaking of the great antiquity and superiority of our Rig Vedic culture. It is time now that Indian scholars should utilise the traditional lore along with the mass of knowledge accumulated by that band of European savants commencing with Colebrooke and Max Muller, and present us with a picture of the Rig-Vedic culture and civilization from a new angle of vision.

The Yajna

The Vedic literature is mainly religious. To be precise it centres round yajna translated unfortunately as "sacrifice" instead of "worship", a process combining purity, cogitation, self-abnegation, and realisation of the universal, but it has been so much shrouded by rituals that one always misses the real object and loses himself in the externals. It is admitted that there are three kinds of interpretation of Vedic mantras, viz; *Adhidaivika*, *Adhibhautika* and *Adhyatmika* but enough attention has not so far been given to the third form of interpretation,

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viz. Adhyatmika. J. Hauer admitted that mysticism could best be understood if it was approached in the right philosophic spirit. The mystic aspect of our culture is the least understood by the present day scholar on account of the bent of the present world to material science which has really blinded our internal eyes by its dazzling glow. With a sympathetic spirit we have got to study our Yajna literature. The great Belgian scholar, Dumont, has made an exhaustive study of *Agnihotra* and *Asvamedha* and may well be taken as the guide by our young scholars. We need at the present moment ascertain the real significance of the elaborate Yajnik rites prevalent in the early Mantra and the later Brahmana periods

It is only after such studies, editions and translations of the Vedic texts and commentaries that we can ask for a history of the Vedic civilization. The only warning that I shall utter to the generation of young scholars is that they must acquire at least a working knowledge of the original Vedic texts before they take up their pen to write on Vedic history. More harm than good has been done to the interpretation of our ancient culture by those writers who have built castles on words or sentences found here and there in the Vedic texts without giving sufficient thought to the passage or the context in which they occur.

Epic & purana Studies

Now let us turn to an examination of the Epic and Purana studies, the pioneers of which are Hopkins and Pargiter.

Need of Text History.

I do not regret that after Hopkins and Pargiter no comprehensive work has been written on the Epics and the Puranas or the culture of the Epic and Puranic period. There has appeared in our Journal a large number of papers dealing with one or other aspect of the Epic or Purana civilization. These studies are no doubt useful as they clear up many a hazy spot of our cultural and political history. But the greatest handicap to our studies is the lack of a reliable edition of the Epics and the Puranas. Dr. Sukhthankar has given rude shock to our pet belief that our *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, as they are, are as sacred and ancient

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as the *Vedas* In his "Epic Studies" published in the "Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute" as also in his Introduction to that epoch-making work, the edition of the Mahabharata, Dr. Sukhthankar has shown how much of the *magnum opus* can be accepted as ancient if not as the original. Dr. Kirfel, on a critical study of the Puranas, particularly the *Vayu Purana*, has shown how the text has suffered on account of drastic changes and interpolations, made in the course of their being handed down from one *suta* to another or in the hands of the various scribes of the manuscripts. The textual alterations, not to speak of interpolations, have made it very difficult to draw a line between one portion of the text and another Matters of widely different periods have been mixed up to form a neatly set mosaic, and have in many instances, misled the historians to wrong conclusions. This finding is equally applicable to the *Ramayana*, the *Puranas*, the Buddhist *Suttas*, *Jatakas* and *Avadanas*. Dr. Raghu Vira has taken up the task of publishing a critical edition of the *Ramayana* which, we hope, will be done on the same lines as that of the *Mahabharata* of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute. It is indispensable that a band of scholars should be engaged to ascertain the different strata in the texts mentioned above, if not a revised edition of the same. It is only after this ground work is completed that the historians can utilise them to draw up the picture of a particular aspect of ancient Indian life, assigning to the same a date and a locality.

Migration of Indian Literatures Different Versions

Along with the study of text-history pointed out above, our scholars can usefully direct their energies towards tracing how and when the texts of the Epics, *Puranas*, and Buddhist works made their way to the different parts of India as also to the countries outside India and were recast in the different provincial languages or the languages of the foreign countries. Is it not remarkable that versions of the *Mahabharata* are available in Old Javanese, Thai, Sinhalese, Persian, Tibetan, Chinese and even in Khotanese? We are yet in the dark as to the various available versions of the *Ramayana* and *Puranas* We have some informa-

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tion relating to the versions of the Buddhist texts and much more, I believe, will be forthcoming in the near future. A search for the various versions will undoubtedly throw light on the influence exercised by their literature on the cultural life of a locality or a country.

Migration of Stories.

Closely allied to this search, there should be an intensive and comparative study of the folk-lore appearing in the Epics, the *Puranas*, the *Jatakas*, and the *Avadanas*. Spasmodic work has been done on this subject but what we need now is a comprehensive investigation. Such studies will also throw light on the transformation undergone by the Vedic and post-Vedic myths and legends in the Epics and *Puranas*. A study of the folk-literature by itself reveals not only the beliefs and customs of the common people but also the common laws observed by the people in matters of contracts for sale and purchase, marriage, inheritance, crimes and their punishments, administration of justice and so forth.

It is now fairly well recognised that our Epics, *Puranas* and the Buddhist *Jatakas* and *Avadanas* wielded an appreciable amount of influence on the legends and fables of the countries outside India. The cultural extra-territorial expansion of India took place after the advent of Buddhism and on the initiative of the Buddhist preachers. After our attainment of Independence, many countries of Asia are expecting from India a move to revive the lost cultural links and it is high time that our scholars and Universities should take up this task. Mere comparative study or analysis of texts will not be sufficient. Our scholars should visit and stay in those countries, learn the languages or dialects there and then collect the traditional myths, legends, and religious beliefs, tracing therein the influence of the Indian lore. They should not confine their attention to the cultural influence of India only, but apply their mind to the reconstruction of the history of those countries from their literature and archaeological discoveries.

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Our Epics and Puranic and folk literature are so voluminous that it is impossible for any one even a small group of scholars to take an all round view of their contents. Hence we need exhaustive indexes of the type of Sorensen, who however dealt with only proper names of the *Mahabharata* In Marathi we have the work "Bharatvarsiya Pracinacaritra-Kosa", giving some information about the proper names occuring in the Vedic, Epic and Puranic literature. The *Jivanikosa* in Bengali compiled by S.B. Vidyalankara is a more elaborate work supplying us with biographical information regarding the personages mentioned in the Epics and the Puranas. The subject index in Rice's *Analysis and Index of the Mahabhatara* is also a valuable contribution in this line. An organisation, I think, should be set up to take up the Indexing of the Epics and the Puranas. Malalasekera's *Dictionary of Proper Names in the Pali texts* or Keith's *Vedic Index* may well be taken as models.

Ramarajya

Our revered Mahatma spoke of Ramarajya and today we are all eager to know in all the wealth of its actual details the life led by the people during Rama's rule. Some politicians interpret it as the kingdom of heaven, others as an ideal democratic state, but none of these opinions are based on the intensive study of details in the *Ramayana* of tested accuracy from the historical standpoint. It is therefore our duty to elicit from the Epic what was really the actual character of the Ramarajya.

Budhist Sources.

Our sources of historical information next to the Epics and the Puranas are the Buddhist texts. We owe to the Pali Text Society of London excellent editions of Pali texts and their commentaries, and to various scholars, and Societies of Europe some fine editions of the Buddhist Sanskrit texts. There are still several Buddhist-Sanskrit works lying in manuscript in the libraries of the Cambridge University and the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and it is not known how many still remain untraced in Nepal, Tibet central Asia, the Island of Bali and perhaps in Korea. Rahula Sankrityayana

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and Prof. Tucci collected a number of valuable Sanskrit manuscripts from Tibet, and the representative of Korea announced in the last Asian Relations Conference held in Delhi that there existed in Korea a Sanskrit Tripitaka, and recently an old Sanskrit ms. has been discovered in Jogjakarta. The excavations and finds of manuscripts in Central Asia and Eastern Turkistan, and the chance-find of a collection of manuscripts at Gilgit have opened up a new vista before our eyes, but unfortunately many of the valuable finds still lie locked up in the Museums and Archives of Europe. The Tun-huang collection which lies mostly in the hands of the French scholars contains manuscripts in Kharosthi, early Brahmi, slanting Gupta. Aramaic, Tibetan, Vigur and Chinese characters. The majority of the Sagdian manuscripts contain Buddhist texts. From time to time, one or two texts of this collection have seen the light. These texts furnish us with reliable materials for the religious and cultural history of India and her immediate neighbours from the 3rd century B.C.

In the Epic and post-Epic period, i.e. when the Indo-Greeks, Sakas, Pallavas and Kushans were penetrating into this land, there was a free cultural and commercial intercourse of Northern India with all the countries in the west up to Persia and in the east up to China. There were also at that time many republican peoples who lived outside the borders of India or in the foothills o the Himalayas. There are references to these peoples in the Epics, the Puranas, Panini, records of the Greek historians, and the Buddhist texts. There has been no systematic attempt to throw light on these peoples. Recently D. R. Patil in the Appendix to his "Cultural History from the *Vayu-purana*" made an attempt to identify the tribes and place-names occurring in the *Vayu-purana* Our knowledge of these peoples is so hazy that even now there is a good deal of doubt about the identification of some of the tribes mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta or of China-Cilata mentioned in the *Milindapanha* and the Nagarjunikonda inscription, or of the

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tribal *lipis* (characters) cited in the *Lalitavistara*. In the Gilgit manuscripts, apart from much new information relating to the customs and manners of the ancient Indians, there occur the names of donors of the manuscripts. Some of these names are distinctly foreign, e.g. Sulivajra and Sulkhina, and there being non-Sanskritic the scribe added the instrumental inflection "ena" separately, e.g. Mamtoti-ena ; Akhiloti-ena ; Kosi-ena. The name of the ruling king is given as "Srideva Sahi Surendra Vikramaditya." These instances clearly show that the tribes living on the frontiers of India had probably Indian rulers and adopted the Indian culture and religion and became ultimately recognised as Indian. The indentification, habits, and other particulars of the republican peoples living around the Himalayas are a desideratum in our studies of ancient Indian history. A search of the early Chinese sources and a study of the Central Asian antiquities may yield fruitful results.

Tibetan and Chinese Records

In the Tibetan and Chinese collections there are, besides the translations of the Buddhist texts, a few traditional histories. These accounts are so mixed up with myths and legends that it becomes very difficult to separate facts from fiction. These however furnish us with valuable information relating to the Buddhist saints and writers of all ages, as also their literary and missionary activities. These contain also valuable geographical information. Taranatha has written several works one of which, viz. "History of Buddhism" has been edited and translated. His work on the history of Bengal still lies in manuscript or xylograph. S. C. Das edited the *Pag Sam Gon zang* which also contains accounts of the teachers, and of the propagation of Buddhism up to a late date, but the analysis made by the editor is far from satisfactory. Buston's work translated into English is another important work on the history of the religion, but it avoids references to the kings or the peoples. Most of these Tibetan chroniclers derived their information from Indian sources and accepted them as authentic. A vigorous search should be made for collecting the writings of the

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Tibetan and Chinese annalists and an organisation should be set up to edit and translate into one of the modern languages the materials already at hand or to be discovered.

There are a few Chinese texts dealing with the life and activities of the Buddhist monks, but unfortunately they have not yet been studied or translated excepting one, viz. Parasanatha's life of Vasubandhu. As the Chinese writers were more cautious in accepting a tradition as authentic, as evidenced by the records of the three Chinese pilgrims, their writings are likely to yield reliable information.

That the Tibetan chroniclers, particularly Taranatha, depended upon the Indian traditions is amply proved by a Gilgit manuscript, as also by the *Lalitavistara* and the *Manjusrimulakalpa*. In the first leaf of Gilgit *Vinayapitaka* of the Mulasarvastivadins appears the following tradition: When the Bodhisattva was dwelling in the Tusita heaven, Rajadhiraj was the king of Anga, and Mahapadma of Magadha. There were frequent fights between these two kings and ultimately the former subjugated the latter and made him pay tributes. Bimbisara, son of Mahapadma, resented the collection of tributes by the officers of Anga, and led na army against the king and made him a prisoner. During the life-time of his father, Bimbisara ruled in Anga and after his death succeeded to the throne of Magadha. The manuscripts tell us further that at the time of Bodhisattva's birth there were four rulers: Bimbisara son of Mahapadma at Rajgriha, Prasenajit son of Brahmadatta at Benares, Pradyota son of Anantanemi at Ujjayini and Udayana son of Satanika at Kausambi. The manuscript then digressed into another topic but the *Manjusrimulakalpa*, which was one of the sources of Taranatha, continues the story. This text adds to the list the names of four other kings, viz; Subahu, Sudhana, Mahendra, and Candra without however mentioning the name of their capitals. The *Laliavistara* (ch. III) refers to Subahu as the king of Mathura, and adds Sumitra was the king of Mithila, Simha of the Licchavis of Vaisali (cf. Gilgit

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Mss. vol.) and Suddhodhana of the Sakyas of Kapilavastu. It is apparent therefore that Taranatha did not invent the stories but preserved some of our ancient traditions.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal was the first scholar who had the boldness to utilise one of the sources of Taranatha, the *Manjusrimulakalpa,* as the basis of his "Imperial History of India". Like all pioneers, he is criticised for his new theories but we must admit that some of his discoveries like the dynasties of the Vakatakas and the Bharasivas are today matters of sober history. He found out from the *Manjusrimulakalpa* new names of kings and dynasties and laid stress on its statement that there were a number of petty rulers and republican states besides the large monarchies. This regional growth of political India has been, I believe, accepted by the modern writers on Indian history, but his other theories still require corroboration from more reliable sources.

Nandas and Chandragupta

If some of the statements in the Epics or the Puranas or in the Sinhalese chronicles can ultimately prove to be authentic, there is no reason why we should dismiss the traditions collected by Taranatha as pure fiction. If the Jaina tradition about the retirement of Chandragupta to the south can be accepted (see, e.g. *Advanced History of India.* by R. C. Mazumdar and others p. 102) as true, then there is no harm in relying on the statement of the *Manjusrimulakalpa* that Mahapadma Nanda's learnings towards Buddhism made him unpopular and brought about his downfall through the machinations of Canakya, a staunch Brahmana leader. The bitterness between the Buddhist and the Brahmana at the time is evidenced by Canakya's caustic remarks against the Buddhists and the vituperations of the author of the *Manjusrimulakalpa* against Canakya. It is not improbable that this rivalry between Buddhistic and Brahmanic faiths brought about the end of the Nanda dynasty and raised the Mauryas to the throne and that Chandragupta and Bindusara were both champions of Brahmanism. It was Asoka, who again espoused the cause of Buddhism

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very likely some time after he had been on the throne, and the Kalinga war might well have been the cause for the change of his faith.

Incidentally, I should mention here that the *Manjusrimulakalpa*, a book of the 10th century, noticed the existence of Asoka pillars as the emblem of peace after the devastating war carried on by Asoka for the consolidation of his empire. It is a happy coincidence that the same emblem of peace has been adopted by our new independent Government as a national insignia. Let us hope that this happy selection and coincidence will bring peace, happiness and prosperity to our country.

While speaking of the Tibetan chroniclers and Chinese biographers, I do not mean that statements relating to the political condition of India should be accepted without a thorough examination. What I want to point out is that they preserve some lost traditions, and that an analytical study of the same may suggest new lines of research, e.g. the mention of the two "Candra" dynasties, one early and one late. Dr. B. C. Sen has been able to ascertain that the late Candras were historical personages, and so some scholars should now look for evidence as to whether the earlier Candra dynasty consisting of seven successive rulers has really existed.

Buddhism

As a life long student of Buddhism I feel I should say something about the desiderata in the field of Buddhistic studies.

The first question that arises in my mind is whether Buddhism at any time of its history replaced Brahmanism or remained confined to a body of recluses satisfied with the quest of Nirvana and having nothing to do with the society or the faith of the masses. So far we have not found any text, dealing with the duties of a householder except a few ethical discourses which are applicable to the Buddhists and the non-Buddhists alike. Scanning the history of Buddhism, it will be observed that the rise and fall of the religion took place with the grant and withdrawal of royal patronage. The

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religion became, for instance, very popular during the reign of Asoka, dwindling into insignificance during the reign of his successors. It rose into prominence again with the patronage of the Indo-Scythian rulers, reaching the climax during the reign of Kanishka, when it made its way into Central Asia and China. It receded into back-ground up to the time of Sakraditya Budhagupta and Harsavardhana, when it again became a popular faith. It revived its past glory during the reign of the Palas to pass into oblivion ever since. From this broad survey it seems that the religion grew as a cultural institution maintained by the State, and did not spread its tendrils far over the fram work of the lay-society. The moment, the patronage of the State was withdrawn, it lost hold on the country and remained isolated as an academic or religious body of recluses. The place of the householders in the religion still remains undetermined, and it is by a close study of the form of religion obtaining in Burma, Siam and Indonesia that we can hope to find out the exact position occupied by it in India.

The second problem to which I would draw your attention is the career of the early Buddhist sects and their influence on the lay devotees of the country. You are aware that in some of the donative inscriptions, the names of sects are mentioned, hinting thereby that lay-donors also showed their veneration to a particular sect. The Sarvastivadins, for instance, propagated their doctrines and literature all over Northern India, as far as Gandhara and Kashmir, Central Asia and China. While the Sthaviravadins (Theravada) made their way to the western parts of India and then to the south and ultimately settled in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam, the Sammitiyas or the Vatiputriyas remained together with the Sthavaravadins for a long time, and after separation attained popularity in Sindh and some places in Western India, reaching the zenith in the reign of Harsavardhana. The Mahasanghikas sought shelter in the Andhra country and propagated the religion in the southern countries and paved

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the way for the advent of Mahayana.

Incidentally it may be mentioned that very little work has been done on the career of Buddhism in South India though Amaravati and Kanci became magnificent academic centres for the religion. There are in South India many unexplored sites which are likely to yield valuable finds. Taranatha (chap. XLI) also has pointed out how and when the religion was propagated in the south and then there are also some materials in the *Gandavyuha* and the Pali commentaries.

From the above, it is apparent that a study of the sectarian developments is necessary not only to trace the evolution of the Buddhist faith but also to explain some of the sculptures and the inscriptions.

The third desideratum is the lack of an exhaustive study of the life and works of the Buddhist commentators, and philosophers, as also of their patrons. Such a study will throw a flood of light on the cultural history of India during the first few centuries of the Christian era. We still labour under very hazy ideas about the master-minds like Nagarjuna, Asanga, Samghabhadra and Srilabha and their contributions to our logical and philosophical literatures. It is only because of the English translation of the Chinese text, viz., Paramartha's life of Vasubandhu, that we have some valuable information relating to the activities of Vasubandhu. It has also furnished us with materials for finding out the relation between Vasubandhu and Samudragupta. Our historians speak of the glorious days of Brahmanic culture during the Gupta period but on account of lack of materials, they pass over the magnificent contributions of the Buddhist writers of the time. There are ample materials in the Chinese and Tibetan records for collecting materials for a picture of the Buddhist literary activities during the Gupta period. Taranatha and Buston have contributed some valuable data, but more are needed. An idea of the contributions of the Buddhist scholars

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can be had from the Repertoire of the Tanjur Catalogue prepared by Mademoiselle Lalou. We must have scholars of the type of Csoma Korosi to remove the desideratum.

The fourth point which I want to stress is a compilation of the history of Buddhism outside India, a glorious chapter, I should say, in the history of India's cultural expansion.

Ceylon was probably the first country outside India to receive the earliest form of Buddhism, add thence it spread to Burma and Siam. Though the credit of the propogation goes to Mahinda, son of Asoaka, the wave of the religion went actually from the Tamils.

It was sometime after Ceylon that Central Asia and China came under the influence of the Northern school of Budhism, and it was from China that the religion spread to Mongolia, Annam and Japan.

Malaya, Indonesia, and Indo-China received the light of Buddhism at a late date, very likely from the Adhra countries. The peak periods of the propagation of the religion in the Far Eastern countries coincided with the reigns of the Guptas, the Pallvas and the Palas. The number of Indian scholars who have taken up the study of the expansion of Indian culture can be counted on fingers. The foremost of them is Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, others being Dr. K. D. Nag, Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Prof. Nilkanta Sastri, Prof. N. R. Ray and Mr. H. B. Sarkar. It is really a fascinating subject but the greatest obstacle to its study is the language of the countries concerned, and a first hand knowledge of the traditions, customs and beliefs of the peoples of the different countries. Without the active support of the Government of our country, it will not be possible for individual scholars to do justice to the subject.

Next to Buddhism, Jainism occupies an important place in the studies of our cultural history. The main reason for our inedaquate attention to the religion is the lack of good editions and translations of *Agamas*, and probably also on

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account of lesser interest taken in it by the European scholars, whom we have so long regarded as pioneers in Indological studies. Lately, a few European scholars like Schulering, Glasenapp and Guerinot have taken some interest, but there is no organisation in Europe or India similar to the Pali Text Society or the Bibiliotheca Budhica for editing and translating the Jaina texts. A number of them have been published by Agamodaya or other Samitis, but the editions do not come up to the European standard. The researches of H.R. Kapadia, J.C. Jain and C.J. Shah have given us some idea of the value of the materials embedded in the Jaina literature. The Agamas and their commentaries were recast and revised about the sixth century A.C. but they contain materials presenting a picture of social, political and cultural life of a much early date. Traditionally, there were three recensions of the Agamas but no one has so far attempted to separate the strata chronologically. In other words, the text history of the Agamas and their commentaries still remain to be written.

The myths and legends preserved by the Jainas were derived from the common stock of Indian traditions and folklore, and hence a detailed comparative study of the Buddhist, Jaina and Brahmanic versions is likely to throw light on the social, political and cultural life of the Indians of the early Christian eras. Recently J. C. Jain has presented us with an account of life in ancient India as depicted in the Jaina canon from many aspects. It gives an idea of the ways in which the Jaina writers utilised the common folk-lore in furtherance of their objects.

Jainism like early Buddhism was confined to Anga Magadha, and did not spread beyond Kausambi, Thaneswara and Saketa till the days of Samprati, the grandson of Asoka, when it spread to Sindhu-Sauvira, Surastra in the west, and to Andhra and Dravida in the south. Its preachers however never thought of going outside the borders of India.

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Unlike Buddhism, Jainism developed a lay-society of its own, and prescribed ethical duties and ritualistic practices for the observance by the house holders. Some of them smack of rigid conservatism, nonetheless, these are important for a true appreciation of the cultural history of India. It behoves our Universities to lay proper stress on the study of Jaina literature, and thereby create an interest among our students.

Ancient Geography

There is some valuable geographical information in the Jaina texts. It is incumbent upon us to study it in the light of data available in the Epics, the Puranas and the Buddhist texts. After the publication of Cunningham's *Geography* with the notes of S.N. Mazumdar, not a single work has been published incorporating the researches made during the last two or three decades. I admit that there are many speculative identifications, but it is time that there should be a stock-taking of the geographical researches made so far. Even if we are unable to write geography of ancient India, an attempt should be made to compile a Geographical Dictionary, somewhat on the lines adopted by N. L. De, *i. e.* putting together all myths and legends as well as researches made in connection with a particular place.

I am afraid I have already taxed your patience too much for which it will not be proper to dilate on the several controversial problems which are still puzzling our historians, *e. g.* the home and date of the Sunga rulers and the Andhrabhrtyas; identity of the Naga-rulers; founder of the Saka era; original habitant of the Kushans; place of foreigners such as the Yavanas, Sakas and Pallavas in the Indian social structure; influence of Saivaism and Bhagavataism on the Greeks and the Kushans; authenticity and date of Kaca Gupta and Rama Gupta; identification of the names occurring in the Allahabad Pillar inscriptions of Samudragupta; identity of Candra of the Meherauli inscription; the successors of Kumargupta; the circumstances relating to Harsavardhana's accession to the throne, the extent of his empire and the names of his successors; the detailed history of Yasovarman, Lalitaditya Muktapida and so forth.

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On account of the Great War, the work of the Archaeological Department was hampered a good deal. We hope that this Department will resume its activities in right earnest now that it is manned by Indian officials, whose zeal for reconstructing the past history of India is no less than ours. The only point I would like to emphasize is that the Archaeological Department should not maintain that aloofness from the teachers and research scholars who are working in the same field, as has hitherto been the practice. On the other hand, I would suggest an interchange of University teachers of archaeology with the officers of the department, so that the former can acquire direct knowledge of archaeological excavations and finds and the latter impart to students a more vivid account of the explorations done or undertaken by them. Now that the country is free, there should not exist a wall between the Archaeological Department and the Universities.

One word more, and I have done. In the present stage of our researches, it is well nigh impossible to remain in touch with the several periodicals and publications. Hence a bibliographical index has become indispensable to minimise waste of energies. The Bombay Historical Society is rendering a valuable service to the Indologists by publishing the Annual Bibliography so ably edited by B. A. Fernandes. We hope the work will be continued and the standard maintained.

The Bibliography will not be of much use unless there is a Central Library where the Indologists can get the books and the journals. In Calcutta there are three big Libraries, I mean, the National, the University, and the Royal Asiatic Society. The first two have to keep books on all subjects; so it is the third only which can be developed into a full-fledged storehouse of publications on Indology. It can be thrown open to all students of India, and hence I would appeal to the authorities of the Central Government to provide us with an Indological library similar to the British Museum in its comprehensiveness, efficiency and facilities for study

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A Bibliography and a well equipped library will be of no avail if we do not get the right type of research scholars. It has been my sad experience as a teacher that our students take to research not as much for the love of studies as that for a career. I do not deny that they developed the mentality on account of the peculiar circumstances in which they had to prosecute their studies. It will therefore be our aim to bring out students with an abiding interest in study and research. In some of our Universities, provision has been made for well-paid professors, but they are neither given facilities for extending the bounds of knowledge nor are they provided with stipendiary research scholars who could derive benefit from them. It is futile to expect that a student with no means of subsistence would give his whole attention to researches. Hence my suggestion is that the Universities, while creating a Chair of studies, should also provide a few stipends at the disposal of the professor for students sincerely willing to take up researches seriously. Along with this, I would suggest further that the Universities should invite distinguished foreign Indologists, and associate them with young teachers and students, so that the latter might take the full benefit of their presence. This step will eliminate the expenditure incurred by our students for going over to Europe for Oriental studies. I conclude here, gentlemen, and I thank you sincerely for giving me a patient hearing.

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NEW LIGHT ON THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF MAHARASHTRA

V. V. MIRASHI

The history of Maharashtra in the period following the downfall of the Vakatakas is still obscure. The Vakatakas disappear from the stage of history in circa A. D. 500. The Kalachuris rose to power about A. D. 550 and soon extended their sway over Northern Maharashtra. The Early Rashtrakutas were ruling over Kuntala or Southern Maharashtra in the fourth and fifth centuries A. D., but we have no records of this dynasty in the period immediately following the downfall of the Vakatakas. The period of about *50 years (A. D. 500-550) is still blank* in the history of Maharashtra. It is proposed to shed some light on it in the present article.

This period saw the rise of a mighty Emperor in Andhra. The invasion by Harishena led to the establishment of a new dynasty in that part of the country. Harishena seems to have placed Maharaja Govindavarman of the Vishnukundin dynasty on the throne of Andhra and formed a matrimonial alliance with him by giving a Vakataka princess, perhaps his own daughter, in marriage to his son Madhavavarman I. After Harishena's death there was confusion and chaos in his realm owing to the imbecility of his successor. This state of the country is reflected in the story of Vishruta in the eighth chapter of the *Dasakumaracharita*. The Vakataka prince who succeeded Harishena was killed in an encounter with the king of Vanavasi who invaded Vidarbha. The country was then occupied by the king of Asmaka, an erstwhile feudatory of the Vakatakas.

This debacle afforded a favourable opportunity to the ambitious Vishnukundin prince Madhavavarman I. By his relationship with the Vakatakas he must have considered himself a rightful heir to the Vakataka Empire. He embarked on an extensive scheme of *digvijaya* and soon brought Maharashtra, Vidarbha, Dakshina Kosala and Karnataka under his sway. He then performed several srauta sacrifices such as Bahusuvarna, Pundarika, Purushamedha, Vajapeya, Shodasin, Rajasuya, Pradhirajya and Prajapatya, besides a thousand Agnishtomas and as many as eleven Asvamedhas. This long list of sacrifices is regarded as suspicious. It has been suggested that the Asvamedhas were minor sacrifices and were performed even by feudatories. The description in early Sanskrit works does not support this view. The Asvamedhas

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was the proclamation of one's supremacy over the whole country[1]. Madhavavarman I who claims to have performed as many as eleven Asvamedhas—more than those of any other known king of the historic period—must have been ruling over a large part of Southern India.

Corroboration of Madhavavarman's supremacy in the Deccan in this period is slowly coming to light Several years ago I showed, while editing the Thakurdiya plates of Maha-Pravararaja, that the expression *Trivara-nagara-bhavana-gata-parama-yuvati-jana-viharana-ratih* or *Trivara-nagara-bhavana-gata-yuvati-hridaya-nandanah*, which occurs in both the known grants of Madhavavarman I indicates that he had defeated Tivararaja of the Pandavavamsi dynasty and occupied his capital for a time. I also suggested at the time that Madhavavarman I must have conquered Maharashtra as his grandson Madhavavarman II is described in the Ipur plates as the lord of Trikuta and Malaya mountains. I wrote then as follows, 'As Madhavavarman I had a long reign of more than 40 years, none of his sons seems to have succeeded him... Madhavavarman II, the grandson of Madhavavarman I, who calls himself the lord of Trikuta and Malaya mountains, seems to have held possession of the western provinces after the death of Madhavavarman I, while another grandson, Indravarman, seems to have succeeded him in the east[2].'' This conjecture which was then based only on the expression *Trikuta-Malay-adhipatih* applied to Madhavavarman II. Some scholars were however inclined to look with suspicion on this description. Dr. Hultzsch, who edited the Ipur plates where this description occurs, remarked that both Trikuta and Malaya were at a safe distance from the dominion of Madhavavarman though he claimed to have ruled over them[3]. This was therefore taken to be an empty boast of the Vishnukundin king.

Fortunately the corroborative evidence which was so far lacking has now come to light. More than twenty years ago, Mr. Y. R. Gupta discovered a fragmentary grant of a king named Madhavavarman at Khanapur in the Satara District, of which he published a short notice first in the *Bharata Itihasa Samsodhaka Mandala Quarterly*, Vol. VIII, pp. 163 F. and again in *J. B. B. R. A. S.* (New Series), Vol. IV, p. 89. Mr. Gupta showed that the village Retturaka which was donated by the charter was identical with Retare-budruk which lies south-west of the Krishna-benna or the Krishna as stated in the plates. Some other villages mentioned in the grant namely, Belavatika and

1 Cf. *Uttararamacharita*, Act IV. *Asvamedha iti nama visvavijayinam kshatriyanam urjasvalah sarva-kshtra-paribhavi mahqn-utkarsha-nikashah.*

2 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol XXII, p. 21.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII. p. 238.

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Vattarika can be identified with Belavade and Vathar in the vicinity of Retare-budruk. The grant thus undoubtedly belongs to Southern Maharashtra. Mr. Gupta could not however identify Madhavavarman as the first plate which must have contained a description of his family and some ancestors was not forthcoming. My attention was directed to this record in connection with the history of the Early Rashtrakutas. The plates were then not available to me and even the fragmentary text had nowhere been published. I therefore conjectured that this Madhavavarman might have belonged to the Early Rashtrakuta dynasty which had its capital at Manapura, modern Man in the same Satara District[4]. I have however now obtained photographs and ink impressions of the second and third plates of the grant from the Bharata Itihasa Samsodhaka Mandal which sheds important light on a period of ancient history of Maharashtra.

The grant is inscribed in southern characters of about the sixth century A. D. It is not dated, but it refers itself to the reign of Maharaja Madhavavarman. The description of this king's family and partly his own which occurred on the first plate is now lost, but the extant portion on the second plate shows that this Madhavavarman performed several srauta sacrifices such as Pundarika, Bahusuvarna and eleven others which are unspecified. He is said to have assumed the title of Sarvabhauma (Emperor) and is eulogised as the mainstay (*setu*) of the religious duties of four varnas and asramas[5]. This description, fragmentary as it is, bears striking resemblance to that of Madhavavarman I given by Vishnukundin grants. For instance, the two sacrifices Pundarika and Bahusuvarna figure in the list of srauta sacrifices performed by that Vishnukundin king. No other king of the south is credited with the performance of both these sacrifices. The eleven other sacrifices which are unspecified through the inadvertence of the writer of the grant were probably Asvamedhas. This Madhavavarman was thus plainly the first homonymous king of the Vishnukundin dynasty.

With the help of detailed survey maps I could identify some more villages specifying the boundaries of the donated village Retturaka. Thus Machchhadarya, Senavarya, Kolika and Malakhetaka are plainly identical with Rajamachi, Shenoli, Kola and Malakheta which lie in the respective directions of Retturka. These identifications clearly show that the grant undoubtedly belongs to Southern Maharashtra.

4 This view was put forth in my article entitled 'The Rashtra-kutas of Manapura' in *A-B-O.R.I*. Vol, XXV, pp, 36 f,

5, Cf, *Pundarika-Bahusuvarn-aikadasa-yajanah Sarvvabhanmasya bhasna(sa) Bhaskarasya ais varyyena svayam-Indrasya chaturvvarnya-chaturasramya-dharmma-karmma-setor-Maharaja sri (sri) Madhavavarmano matir—utpanna* etc. in 11, of the grant,

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The Vishnukundins do not seem to have retained possession of Southern Maharashtra for a long time. Madhavavarman II who seems to have succeeded his homonymous grandfather in the west claims that he ruled over the country stretching from Trikuta (near Nasik) to Malaya (southern portion of the Western Ghats). But he or his successor seems to have soon been ousted from that part of the country; for no other Vishnukundin records have been discovered in the West and there are no other references to the rule of that dynasty in Maharashtra or Karnataka As I have shown elsewhere,[6] Govinda who invaded the Chalukyan territory to the north of the Bhimarathi towards the close of Mangalesa's reign probably belonged to the Rashtrakuta dynasty. In Northern Maharashtra and Berar the Kalachuris established themselves in *circa* A. D. 550. Thereafter the rule of the Vishnukundins was confined to their small principality in Andhra.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF SOME SATRAPS OF NORTHERN INDIA

J. N. Bannerjee

Most of the Kshatrapas and the Mahakshatrapas of Mathurn were undoubtedly Saka by race, but they were soon to adopt India manners and customs; some of them seem also to have borne Indian names. Their coins and inscriptions in Kharoshthi and Brahmi form our principal data for the partial reconstruction of their history.

Since the last days of the Maurya Empire the Mathura region was apparently being ruled over by a long line of local Hindu rulers whose names ended either in Mitra or datta. They were supplanted, perhaps about the middle of the first century B. C. by a line of satrapa rulers. Allan thinks that the last two of these rulers were Mahakshatrapa Rajuvula and his son and successor Sodasa, other rulers like Kshatrapa Sivadatta, Kshatrapa Sivaghosha, Kshatrapa Hagamasha and Kshatrapa Hagana and Hagamasha (jointly) being the earlier satraps of Mathura. Rapson also is of the same opinion, for he observes, that 'Rajuvula appears to have been the successor of satraps who are known only from their coins, Hagamasha, and Hagana ruling conjointly with Hagamasha' (*C. H. I.*, I, p. 527). But a careful

6. *A.B.O.R.I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 47 f.

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consideration of the coin-types and the non-mention of the latter group in the Mathura Lion capital inscriptions would justify us in assigning them a place after Rajuvula and his son Sodasa. The earliest coins of Rajuvula are of base silver and are characterised by the royal bust and a somewhat corrupt Greek legend (BACIAEI BACIAEWC CWTHPOCPAIY) on the obverse and Pallas hurling thunderbolt with partially legible Kharoshthi legend *Apratihatachakrasa Kshatrapasa Rajuvulasa* on the reverse. The next are his lead issues having Lion with traces of illegible Greek legends on the obverse, and standing Heracles with the partially legible Kharoshthi inscription *Mahakhatapasa aprati-chakrasa Rajulasa* on the reverse. These seem to have been succeeded by another class of his lead coins having 'standing Lakshmi' with the Brahmi legend *Mahakhatapasa Rajuvulasa* on the obverse, and 'Abhisheka Lakshmi' on the reverse. His son Sodasa uses his father's last coin-type, in his lead and copper money, the legends always in Brahmi script only varying in the different specimens. These latter show that Sodasa was at first a Kshatrapa, and afterwards a Mahakshatrapa (*Mahakhatapasaputasa Khatapasa Sodasasa, Rajuvulaputas K hatapasa Sodasasa* and *Mahakhatapasa Sodasasa*). The copper coins of the other group of the Mathura satraps, Sivadatta, Sivaghosha, Haga masha both Hagamasha and Hagana, on the other hand, invariably bear legends in Brahmi script, and this fact alone would indicate their later position. They use the 'standing Lakshmi and Horse' device on all their coins, and it is presumable from the paucity and somewhat indifferent execution of their coin-types that they ruled for a comparatively short period after Sodasa. Either Sivadatta and Sivaghosha were Indians bearing the foreign title or what is more probable foreigners using Indian names.[1] The gradual Indianisation of the names would also indicate a date for the Kshatrapas Sivadatta and Sivaghosha later than even Hagamasha and Hagana.

A remarkable piece of sculpture, part of the capital of votive column that must have originally stood by the gateway of a Buddhist stupa, has given us some useful information about the complicated history of the Mathura Kshatrapas. It was discovered in 1869 by the great Indologist of the 19th century, Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji. The inscriptions record the enshrinement of some relics of Buddha and other necessary endowments by the chief queen of the Mahakshatrapa Rajula. She is associated in her pious acts with her various relations whose names are given, and all these are done in

1 Cunningham seems to place Rajuvala and Sodsasa first, and then the Hagamasha group, in his time coins of Swaghosa and Sivadatta were unknown *Coins and Ancient India*, H 85-7 pl III.

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honour of the Mahakshatrapa Kusuluka Patika, theKshatrapa Mevaki Miyika, the Kshatrapa Khardda and others, in fact the whole of Sakastana. There is little doubt that many of the various persons of rank who are named belonged to the far distant corners of the Saka empire, and Sakastana (modern Seistan, Sijistan in eastern Iran) was the region from which the Sakas spread themselves over the greater part of northern India. Mahakshatrapa Kusuluka Patika was undoubtedly the Mahadanapati Patika, son of the Kshatrapa Liaka Kusuluka, of the Taxila copper plate already referred to on several previous occasions. Patika seems to have been at this period the Mahakshatrapa in the Taxila region (old Chukhsa) with possibly Mevaki Miyika as his subordinate. He must also have been an esteemed person, possibly of a venerable old age, in the contemporary Saka world in India, or else his name would not have been given the first place of honour in the record of the pious endowments by the chief queen of the Mahakshatrapa of Mathura. One other interesting name which occurs twice in the epigraph is that of Yuvaraja Kharaosta; Rajula's son Sudasa is also twice mentioned there as Kshatrapa. Rajula and Sudasa in this content are no others than Rajuvula and Sodasa of the coins, and Yuvaraja Kharaosta has almost unanimously been identified with Arta's son Kshatrapa Kharaosta known from his coins. The first five lines of the inscription (A lines 1-5) have been interpreted by Konow in a manner different from the way in which it is usually explained by Indologists. According to the older view, the principal donor was Nada Di(or Si) aka the chief queen of Mahakshatrapa Rajula, the daughter of Ayasi Kamudha (or Kamusa) and mother of Yuvaraja Kharaosta. If the Yuvaraja Kharaosta be identical with the Kshatrapa Kharaosta of the coins, which has almost unanimously been accepted by scholars, it follows that Arta, the father of Kharaosta, was the first husband of Rajula's chief queen who married Rajula after Arta's death. According to Konow, however, the name of the principal donor, Rajula's chief queen, was Ayasi Kamuiia (Kambujaka belonging to the Kambuja tribe) who was the daughter of Yuvaraja Kharaosta, also a Kambujaka and the mother of Nada Di (si)aka.[2] It is difficult to be sure about the correct interpretation now, but one fact deducible from these lines is that it was the chief queen of the Mahakshatrapa who was responsible for the endowments and it is presumable that she was a Buddhist.

2. Know, *Kharoshthi Inscriptions* (*Corpus, II*), pp. 34-6 For the older view, cf *JRAS*, 1894, pp. 541 ff and *Ep. Indica* IX, pp. 135 ff. H.K. Deb has discussed the problem in *JRASB* X, 1944, pp. 22-37

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These religious endowments (*dharma-dana*) were made by the queen in the 'cave monastery' (*guha vihara*) as the records tell us. The *guha vihara* was seen by the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Thsang, in the 7th century A.D., who gives an interesting description of it. Sudasa (Sodasa) is described as enjoying the position of Kshatrapa at that time under his father, the Great Satrap Rajula. The inscriptions refer to the Buddhist Acharyas Buddhadeva. and Budhila, the last of whom hailed from Nagara (identified by Cunningham with Begram in Afghanistan) far to the west of the Indus. The Buddhist sects of the Sarvastivadins and the Mahasamghikas are mentioned in them, the former being assigned a more important position.

These epigraphs do not bear any date, and any inference about the time of the principal personalities mentioned in them must be indirect, and derived from other available data. The Brahmi inscription, a votive tablet (ayagapata) found at Mathura recording some endowments by one Amohini, a Jaina devotee, gives us a possible clue to it The tablet bears the name of Mahakshatrapa Sodasa and a date. which has been read differently by scholars, either as 42 or 72. Whichever may be the correct reading, the view generally accepted is that the year belongs to the Vikrama Samvat. If it is 72, which is the opinion of most scholars, Sodasa would then be ruling as the Mahakshatrapa at Mathura in c. 15 A. D. But this would imply a wide gap between the time of Kshatrapa Liaka Kusuluka and the Mahakshatrapaship of his son Mahadanapati Patika of the Taxila Copper plate, the date 78 of which has been referred to an era possibly dating from about the middle of the second century B. C. according to the scheme of the chronology adopted here. The Mahakshatrapaship of the latter would then fall roughly in the last quarter of the first century B. C. for the Mathura Lion capital inscriptions which mention him as holding the position of the great satrap refer to Sudasa as a Kshatrapa. This would place the inscriptions also in the last quarter of the first century B.C., which is not an unlikely date for it. Liaka Kusuluka would then have to be assigned a comparatively long rule first as Kshatrapa and then probably as Mahakshatrapa from near about the middle of the second quarter of the first century B. C. to the beginning of its last quarter. This was perhaps one of the reasons which led Rapson to support Buhler's alternative reading of the date in the Amohini votive tablet as 42, for that would necessarily shorten by 30 years the interval between the Kshatrapaship of Liaka Kusuluka and the Mahakshatrapaship of his son Patika. It may be said on behalf of Rapson that the sign which has been read by many epigraphists as 70 in the

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Ambhini votive tablet, is very similar to the one read as 40 in the Junnar inscription of Ayama, the minister of Nahapana, by many of the same epigraphists (Konow, however, consistently reads this sign as 70). It must be observed, however, that this chronological problem cannot be assumed to have been satisfactorily solved as yet.[3]

Rajuvula seems to have enjoyed a long rule not only over the Mathura region but over a far wider area. The coins bear testimony to this, for they are found all over the country from the Punjab to the Gangetic Doab. The variety of their types has already been referred to, the commonest of which were 'the drachms of light weight and very base metal copied from the coins of Strato I and II, the bust on their obverse showing a typical Saka portrait found on the coins of Heraos or Miaos. It is certain that he came to Mathura from the north west: he might have conquered it from the last of the local Hindu kings like Balabhuti, Ramadatta or Kamadatta, and it is presumable that he was already enjoying the satrapal office in the regions to its north under the later Sakas. The fact that it is the last group of his coins which bear on their obverse the device of the local kings of Mathura, viz., the standing Lakshmi (not the God Krishna, as was previously supposed, cf. C. H. J. I., 526) tree and other symbols, and which are the rarest among his issues has led Allan to suggest that Rajuvula only occupied Mathura late in his reign (Allan, op. cit., CXV) But this does not necessarily follow, for his own observation that Rajula's coins of class I (Royal bust and Pallas type with Greek and Kharoshthi legends) were found with coins of Strato at Mathura and in the Eastern Punjab probably prove that during the early years of his occupation of Mathura, he continued the issue of the Indo-Greek type of money and it was only late in his reign that he imitated the local coins. Once this was done, it became the norm of his successors like Sodasa, Hagamasha and others, though the last few of them like Hagamasha, Hagana, Sivadatta and Sivaghosha changed the Abhisheka-Lakshmi reverse type of the last class of Rajuvula and all Sodasa's money. The rule of Sodasa must have been confined to Mathura and the surrounding regions, for his coins were found along with those of his father at Mathura, Padham and Sankisa, all in this belt of the U.P. His Kshatrapa successors, as has been suggested above, must have ruled in Mathura only for a comparatively short time,

3 Cf. also H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (4th edition), pp. 371–73.

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and the region perhaps after a short period of interregnum was conquered by the Kushana monarchs. That the Kushana suzerains continued the satrapal system of government in this region is proved by the Sarnath inscriptions dated in the 3rd reginal year of the great Kanishka. The first of these carved on the front of the plain pedestal of a Buddhist image (described as Bodhisattva in the inscription) records that the image, a gift of Friar Bala, was erected under the orders of the great satrap Kharapallana along with Kshatrapa Vanashpara; the other incised on the sides of the staff of the stone umbrella which once sheltered the image, also mentions them, Kshatrapa Vanashpara's name being put first after which follows the name of Kharapallana without his official title. It is probable that Mahakshatrapa Kharapallana was the father of Kshatrapa Vanashpara, and from their connection with Bhikshu Bala of Mathura, it can be presumed that Mathura was the seat of their government. Vogel has suggested that Kharapallana's son Vanashpara, 'who in the umbrella inscription is mentioned before Kharapallana, resided at Benares and ruled the eastern portion of the province governed by his father,[4]. No coins have as yet been found bearing the names of these two satrapal rulers; it may be that they will never be found, for during the zenith of the Kushana power, these satraps might not have been allowed by their suzerain the prerogative of issuing coins in their own name. Nothing is known about the subsequent history of the Saka Kshatrapas of Mathura, A fragmentary Brahmi inscription on a rounded piece of red sandstone found at Ganeshra, some 3 miles west of Mathura, contains the name of one 'Kshaharata Ghataka, who is otherwise unknown to us. There is no date,but the palaeography of the record places it in the reign of Kanishka. Ghataka like Kharapallana and Vanashpara was a foreigner, but he belonged to the Kshaharata tribe. Whether he also enjoyed the office of a Kshatrapa is not at all certain, though Vogel has suggested "that the word immediately preceding Kshaharatasa was Kshatrapasa" in the inscription; but the usual way of the arrangement of the two epithets, one tribal and the other official is 'Ksharatasa Kshatrapasa' and not *KshatrapasaKshaharatasa.*[5]

4 Ep. India, VIII, p. 174.

5 For Vogel's View, cf. JRAS, 1912, Pp. 121-22.

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ON THE CHRONOLOGICAL POSITION OF KHARAVELA

N. N. GHOSH

King Kharavela of Kalinga is an important and by now a familiar historical personage. A great deal of work has been done on the Hathigumpha inscription in the Udayagiri hills near Bhubanesvara in the Puri District. The inscription records his royal career from year to year. A lot of controversy has raged round his date, and the object of this paper is to discuss this problem.

Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji[1] for the first time gave, in 1883, a full transcription with notes and translations which marked a vast improvement on earlier attempts begun in 1825 and continued to 1880[2]. Indraji finds in L.16 mention of an era, *Muriya Kala*, from which he deduces the date of Kharavela. He finds the relevant passages in LL. 16 & 17 and reads them as one sentence beginning with *vedariya gabhe thabhe palithapayati panamtariya sathi-vasa-sate raja muriya kale vochhine cha choyathiaga satikutari yam chupadyati khemaraja as vadharaja sa shikuraja* etc., in L.16, and ending with *mahavidayo raja kharavela siri*, (the last word of the last line L.17 of the inscription) who is identified by him with Bhikuraja of the previous line. Both the reading and the syntax are doubtful as will be shown later. But he made his own meaning clear by his translation which runs as follows :—

"The victorious and illustrious king Kharavela (named) the Bhikshuraja (son) of Vriddharaja (who was the son) of Kshemaraja and clever in various qualities etc.....born in the family of royal sages, does this (referring to the architectural constructions in the cave) in the one hundred sixty fifth year of the Maurya kings after one hundred and sixty four years had passed (*choyathi aga satikutariyam*)". On the basis of his reading, syntax and translation he draws up both a genealogy and a chronology of King Kharavela. I am not concerned here in this paper with his genealogy which I consider wrong because of his taking Vridharaja and Bhikshuraja in the genitive case, but with the chronology he has given. He reads the relevant passages panani tariya sathivasasate, made clear by his interpretation of the word *vochhine* as *vichhinne* (expired or ended) which precedes the words

1 Proceedings of the International Congress of Orintalists, Leyden, 1833.

2 Sterling, Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV, 1825, Major Kitoes fascimile read and published by Prinsep, JASB, 1837. Cunningham, C.I.I. Old series, 1877 Rajendra Lal Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa*, 1880.

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which he reads as *choyathi aga stikturiyam*. According to this reading, he finds a so called Maurya era which he takes to begin in the eighth year of Asoka's reign which, again he thinks, falls about 263 B. C. On the basis of his reading of the passage quoted above and his assumptions regarding the date of Asoka's accession when according to him the Maurya era begins, he draws up the chronology as follows: (263-8)=C. 255 B. C. being the initial year of the era, (255-165)=C. 90 B. C. is the date of his architectural constructions in the cave, and these having been done in the 13th year of Kharavela's reign, his accession took place in (90+13)=C. 103 B.C., his yauvaraja nine years before in 112 B.C. and his birth 24 years before his accession in 127 B. C. Indraji himself is in doubt as to the existence of a Maurya era which he says 'has not been found anywhere' (Ib. 149). But he worked out his chronology on this doubtful basis. Both Fleet[3] and Luders[4] denied the existence of a date in the inscription. Dr. Jayaswal who earlier (JBORS 1917) accepted the existence of the era '165 Maurya Kala,' in L. 16, finally gave it up (JBORS 1927), but finds other evidences to put Kharavela in the first quarter of the second century B. C., taking him to be a contemporary of Pushyamitra Sunga. He identifies Bahasatimita as Brihaspatimitra mentioned in the Hathigumpha inscription whom Kharavela defeated in the twelfth year of his reign on the ground that Brihaspati is mentioned in the Sankhayana Grihya Sutra (1·26 6) as the presiding deity of the Pushya constellation of stars (JBORS Vol. III, 1917). The argument is of doubtful validity and is not at all convincing[5]. He further argues that a king of this very name figures in the Pabhosa inscription and on a coin found in Kosam. Bahasatimita of the Pabhosa inscription was probably a local king of Kausambi, whose maternal uncle Ashadhasena excavated the cave in the reign of 'Udaka' whom Jayaswal himself restores as Odraka, the fifth Sunga king[6]. How can this Bahasatimita then be the same person as the first Sunga king Pushyamitra? He seeks to explain the coin name Bahasatimita for Pushyamitra by the fact that some other Sunga and later Sunga kings appear in different names on their coins. He says that the Puranic names, Vasumitra, Vasujyeshtha, Ghoshavasu, Vagramitra, Devabhuti appear as Bhanumitra, Jethamitra, Bhadraghosha, Indramitra, Devamitra on the coins respectively. But the question arises: are the identifications beyond any dispute? They were probably rulers of local dynasties—Neomitra or later Sunga kings ruling in Ajudhya and Bareilly District where a large number of these coins have been

3. J. R A. S., 1910.
4. Luder's List in EI Vol. X (Apdendix No. 1345).
5. R. B. Chanda, I. H. D. 1923, p, 595 f. 5a. 26.
6. Coins of the Indian Museum, p. 185.

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found after the break up of the Sunga empire. Dr. V. Smith places them on the ground of scripts between the first century B. C. and the first century A.D. Moreover unlike them Pushaymitra Sunga appears on other coins and inscriptions in his Puranic name. It is unusual that he should have chosen a different name for his coin found in Kosam.

Dr. V. Smith[7] and Prof. Dubreuil[8] accepted the date worked out by Indraji and Jayaswal and placed Kharavela in the second century B. C. Prof. Rapson also did the same, though in a non-committal way. He writes: "The inscription probably belongs to about the second century B. C.".[9] As we have seen, Dr. Jayaswal himself subsequently gave up Indraji's reading of the passages in question in L. 16 on which he had based his earlier theory. The passages as finally edited now are: *Chattarecha Veduriya gabha thambhe valithuavyati panatriya satasahsaehi* (stop). *mukhiya kala—vochhinam cha choyathi umga samtikam turiyam uavdayati* (stop). The remainig words of line 16, Khemanza sa Vadharaja sa Bhikshuraja Shama-raja and so on form part of the next sentence ending with *rajasiri Kharavela* in L. 17[10]. As you will notice this new reading and syntax are completely different from Indraji's. The splitting up of the sentences and reading of the words "satasahasehi" for sathivasasata, 'mukhiya' for Muriya, 'Kala' for 'Kale' 'amga' for aga, 'santikanitariyam' for "satikutariyam" are the keystones of this revised reading. The phrase *uanatariya satasahasehi*, as the syntax shows, with which the first sentence in L. 16 ends, refers to the cost of five lakhs coins incurred for the decoration of the cave with ornamented pillars, *veduriy agabhe thambe*. This gives a better sense. Kharavela was particular about stating the amount of money he spent on various occasions. For instance, in line 3, he states to have spent 35 lakhs to restore the works of the city damaged by storm in the first year of his reign. He mentions to have spent in the ninth year of his reign 38 lakhs to build the great Victory Palace *Mahavijoy-pasada* (L. 10). Consequently, *punatariya satasahasehi* appears to be the only reasonable read-

7. J. R. A., 1918.
8. A. H. D., 1920.
9. Camb. Hist. of India I, p. 535.
10. Sircar, Select Inscription, p. 210.

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ing. The sentence which immediately follows it speaks of his patronage to 64 kinds of arts (chatuh shashtpyanigani) befitting peacetime, including principal ones (*Mukhya kala uochhinam SK+. Mukhyakalavachchhinnani* which Dr. Sircar rightly interprets as *aita nrityadi samanvitma.*[11] There is no reference to any date, of a *muriya kala,* 165 years or 164 years expired, counted backward from the 13th year of Kharavela's reign. Thus there is no data to place Kharavela in the second century B. C. which some historians including Professor Rapson did.

II.

On the other hand certain palaeographical, monumental and internal evidences found in the epigraph point to the last quarter of the first century B. C. as the date of the author of the inscription. A Satakarni appears in the Hathigumpha inscription whom Kharavela defeated in the second year of his reign. A Satakarni also appears in the Nanaghat inscription of his wife Nayanika Prof. Rapson, while discussing the date of Kharavela, refers to Buhler's Indian Palaeography, p. 39, in which Buhler takes both the Nanaghat inscription of Nayanika and the inscription of Kharavela to belong to the same chronological group and places them in the middle of the second century B.C.[12] This was in 1904 when the date of Kharavela discovered by Indraji held the field. He refers to Indraji's paper on Kharavela and writes: "Kharavela's inscription *must have been inscribed between B C 157 and 147 as the king's 13th year is said to correspond to the year 165 of the Maurya*"[13] (Italics mine) The italicised words will show his mind was not completely free from this influence. Modern scholars, however, assign the Nanaghat records, including that of Nayanika, to a much later date. R. B. Chanda does not accept Buhler's date of the Nanaghat records and places them on the grounds of palaeography much later[14]. Dr. D. C. Sircar assigns them, on the same ground to the latter half of the first century B.C.[15] The well-known scholars on architecture, Messrs. Fergusson and Burgess, in their great work on the *Cave Temples of India,* assigned the Nasik *Chaitya* Hall to the latter half of the first century B.C. Modern art critics agree to this date[16]. Now, according to Sir John Marshall, a small *vihara,* excavated during the time of the second Andhra King Krishna, is of the same age as the Nasik *Chaitya Hall.* So if Krishna flourished in the latter half of the

11 26.
12. Ind. Ant XIII. 1904. Appendix 12 Ib
13. Ibid
14. M.A.S I.
15. Select Inscriptions I. 183 n.
16. Camb Hist. Ind. 636-637.

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first century B. C., the date of his nephew Satakarni who succeeded him, and the date of Satakarni's wife's Nanaghat inscription, may be placed at the close of the second half or at the beginning of the last quarter of the first century B.C. So Kharavela does not need to be placed in the second century B C. for the reason of his identification with his western contemporary Satakarni I, as earlier scholars did.

A Sri Satakarni also appears in the inscription on the Sanchi *torana*, as its donor. He is to be identified with the third Andhra King Satakarni I. This identification involves no chronological impossibilities. The region of Vidisa in which Sanchi falls was in the possession of the Sunga dynasty up to at least its ninth king Bhagabhadra, as the Visnagar Garuda Pillar inscription of Heliodras proves. Bhagabhadras reign, according to the Puranas, ended in 82 B.C. Eastern Malwa including Vidisa probably fell to the Andhras about the same time as its northern portion fell to the Kanvas, when the Sunga power broke up. According to the Puranic evidence the Sunga imperial dynasty ended about 72 B. C. Therefore, I agree with Dr. Raychaudhuri when he places Simuka in the Kanva period and makes him a contemporary with the Kanva king Susarman (C. 38-28 B.C.)[18]. The recognition of Simuka's dynasty as an imperial power by the Puranas, of course begin in 27 B. C, the interval of 45 years being assigned to the Kanvas. The Puranas assign to Simuka's brother 10 years of reign. Assuming B. C. 28 or 27 as the last year of Simuka's reign, Satakarni I came to the throne about 17 B. C. and this not only satisfies Puranic chronological order as shown above, but also the reasons of palaeography, for it has been pointed by R. B. Chanda, as against Buhler's views, that the inscription of Nayanika is later than the Besnagar inscription[19]. So Kharavela who was a contemporary of Satakarni I who appears in the Nanaghat and Sanchi inscriptions, both of the first century B.C. naturally belongs to the same period, and not to the second century B. C.

A more positive data for his chronology is found in L. 6 of Kharavela's inscription. It states: *Pamchame cha dasavase Nandaraja tivasasata oghatitam* tanasuliya bata *panadim nagaram pavesayati*. "Kharavela extended up to the city through Tanasuli road the

17. Taking B.C. 184 as the year of Pushyamitra's accession & the total

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acqueduct which had been opened by King Nanda three hundred years ago". *Ti navasata* which was earlier translated as 103 years by Indraji and Jayaswal, is now taken to mean 300 years. Even Dr. Jayaswal accepts it, but he identifies Nandaraja with Nandivardhana. But how can Nandivardhana be taken as King Nanda ? The Puranas call him Nandivardhana and not Nandavardhana. In the latter case there might have been some justification to identify him with the Nanda raja of the inscription. Morever, according to the Puranas he is a Saisunaga king and the first Nanda king is Mahapadma . Nanda. The Puranas do not speak very enthusiastically of the Nanda kings, because the last Saisunaga king Mahanandin became the founder of this dynasty through his marriage with a sudra woman. Mahapadma Nanda is called Sudragarbhodbhava but gives him unstinted praise for his prowess. He is described as the destroyer of many Kshatriya races (sarva kshtrantaka) and sole monarch (ekarat). Among the dynasties whose chronologies are given in the Puranas in the interval between the last Saisunaga king and the first Nanda king of Magadha are also the Kalingas. It is probable that Mahapadma Nanda defeated the South Eastern India along with the Haihyas, Asmakas, Vitihotras, Mithilas, Kurus, Panchalas, Surasenas Kasis and Ishakus of Central and Northern India to be justifiably called by the Purans as ekarat and sarva kshatrantaka. So there is more reason to identify the Nandaraja of the inscription with Mahapadma Nanda rather than with Nandivardhana. Jayaswal probably did it in order to bring the date of Kharavela to the 2nd. century B C., so as to maintain him as a contemporary of Pushyamitra Sunga. So if Mahapadma Nanda is the king who is to be calculated 300 years backward to the fifth year of Kharavela's reign, we get a key to the date of Kharavela as well as his inscription.

The Puranas differ as to the length of the reign period of Mahapadma. But there is no difference as to the total reign period of his eight successors who ruled (probably jointly) for 12 years. Taking this period of 12 years into account and accepting 322 B.C. as the year of Chandragupta Maurya's accession which is more or less a fixed point of chronology, we may work backward to find the last date of Mahapadma Nanda which comes to (322 plus 12) 334 B.C. Therefore, the extension of the canal took place in C. (334-300) 34 B. C., and this being done in the 5th. year of Kharavela's reign, his accession took place in C. (34 plus 5) 39 B.C. The mention of a round figure of 300 years is a conventional form of expression and may not be taken too literally. Other round figures

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like 10, 20 or 25 may be permitted to add to it in order to find synchronisms. If, say, 20 years are added to 300, the extension of the acqueduct took place in C (334-320) 14 B. C. and his accession 5 years before in 19 B. C. In L. 2 of the epigraph we find details of his early life from which we gather that he became *yuvaraja* at the age of 16 and king at the age of 24. He was therefore 29 years old when he had been king for 5 years at the time of the extension of the acqueduct in 14 B.C. We may thus draw up a tentative chronology of Kharavela as follows :

Birth 29 plus 14	C. 43 B C.
Yauvarajya 43-16	C. 27 B. C.
Accession 43 24	C 19 B. C.

The epigraph gives details of his reign from year to year up to the 13th year. The inscription was engraved in the 13th or 14th year of his reign and this brings the date of the inscription to C. (19-14) 5 B.C. This tentative chronology agree with the Puranic data and satisfies other synchronisms.

IDENTIFICATION OF VASISTHIPUTRA SRI SATAKARNI OF THE KANHERI INSCRIPTION.

GURTY VENKET RAO,

(*Note* :— V. = Vasisthiputra ; G. = Gotamiputra ; I. = Inscription K. = Kanheri ; J. = Junagadh ; N. = Nanaghat.)

The name Satakarni singly or conjointly with a metronymic occurs in a number of records bearing on the history of the Satavahana (Andhra) dynasty. Here we are concerned with the identification of Vasishtiputra Satakarni mentioned in the Kanheri Inscription, and incidentally with those Satakarnis who find a mention in the epigraphs hailing from Kanheri, Junagadh, and Nanaghat. The following summaries are extracted for ready reference from H. Luders' *Lists*, published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X, App.

No. 965. Junagadh inscription of the year 72 of Rudradaman *in Sanskrit* Among his other achievements it is stated that he twice defeated Satakarni, the lord of Daksinapatha, but on account of the nonremoteness of their connection, did not destroy him ; and that he himself acquired the title of *mahaksatrapa*.

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No. 994. Kanheri Buddhist tank inscription *in Sanskrit*. It registers the gift of a water-cistern by Sateraka, the minister of the queen of Vasisthiputra Sri Satakarni. She was descended from the family of Karddamaka kings, 'daughter of the *Mahaksatrapa* Ru.....'

No. 1024. Kanheri Buddhist cave inscription of the 16th regnal year 'of *rajan* Gotamiputa *sami* Siriyajna Satakani'. It is *in Prarkit* and records a private gift.

No. 1120. Nanaghat Cistern inscription *in Prakrit*. It records a *private gift* in the 13th year of king 'Vasithiputa Catarapana Satakani'.

The *Matsya Purana* which supplies a detailed list of Andhra (Satavahana) kings does not contain the name of those mentioned in the K.(994) and N. inscriptions. In order to facilitate the elucidation of the problem the relevant portions of the *Matsya* list are furnished below along with the names of those kings as found in their inscriptions and coins (see Rapson's *Catalogue* and Luders' *Lists*).

No.	Name of the King	Years of reign	Epigraphic name	Numismatic name
24	Puloma ...	28	Vasithiputa Siri Pulumavi	Vasithiputa Siri Pulumavi (Vasisthiputra Siri Pulumavi)
25	Sivasri ...	7	"No inscription can with certainty be attributed to either of these kings, and the coins only bear witness that they ruled in Andhradesa". Rapson's *Catalogue*, p. xi.	Vasithiputa Siva Siri Satakani (Vasisthiputra Siva Sri Satakarni) Vasithiputa Siri Cada Sati ? Vasisthiputra Sri Candra Sati).
26	Sivaskanda Satakarni.	7		
27	Yajnasri Satakarni	29	Gotamiputa *Sami* Siri Yajna Satakani.	Gotamiputa Siri Yajna Satakani (Gautamiputra Sri Yajna Satakarni)

Although almost all the scholars of ancient India History are agreed that "Ru....." of the K.I. (994) was the *Mahaksatrapa* Rudradaman, and the year 72 of the J. I. refer to Saka era, there is no such unanimity

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of opinion regarding the indentity of V. Sri Satakarni of the former record. There are as many views about his personality as there are scholars who tackled the problem. This can be seen from the equations and the order of succession suggested by some of them :—

1. Buhler (Ind. Ant., 1883, Vol. XII, p. 273.)
   (1) V. Sri Satakarni (K. 994) = V. Catarpana Satakarni (N.)
   (2) *His son* was Gotamiputa Shri-Yajna Satakarni (K. 1024).
   (3) Satakarni (J.) was either (1) or (2).

2. R. G. Bhandarkar (Early Hist. of the Dekkan, 3rd edition, pp. 37-38, and 50.)
   (1) V. Sri Satakarni (K. 994)=V. Catarpana Satakarni (N.)
   (2) *His father* was G. Sri Yajna Satakarni (K. 1024).
   (3) Satakarni (J)=G. Sri Yajna Satakarni (K. 1024).

3. Rapson (*catalogue*, 1908, pp. li, note 17, xxxviii and xli),
   V. Sri Satakarni (K. 994)=Satakarni (J.)=V. Catarpana Satakarni (N.)=Vasisthiputra Pulumavi (Puloma of the *Matsya* Purana).

4. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (J. R. A. S., 1926, p. 659). The following *probable* identifications and order of succession are suggested by him :—
   (1) Vasisthiputra Pulumavi.
   (2) Siva Sri Satakarni=Satakarni (J).
   (3) Vasisthiputra Sri Satakarni (K. 994), brother or son of (2)=Vasisthiputra Sri Candra Sati.

5. V. S. Bakhle (Jr. Bomb. Br. R. A. S., 1927, III, pp. 78—81).
   (1) V. Sri Satakarni (K. 994)=V. Catarapana Satakarni (N.)
   (2) Satakarni (J.)=G. Sri Yajna Satakarni (K. 1024)
   Bakhle is decidedly against the identification of (1) with Sivasri of the Puranas on the ground that 'there is not the slightest similarity between the names.'

6. Haricharan Ghosh (Ind. Hist. Quart., 1930, p. 753 and 1931. p. 122).
   (1) Satakarni (J.)=Sri Yajna Satakarni (K. 1024).

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(2) V. Sri Satakarni (K. 994)=' Possibly ' brother of (1) and " connected in his rule ".

(3) V. Catarapana Satakarni ' tempting ' to identify him with (2).

7. Girindrasekhar Bose (Jr. R. A. S. B., 1939, V. p. 30).

(1) Satakarni (J.) " The defeated ruler was very likely Vasisthiputra Pulumavi. Rudradaman spared his life because he was a near relation (son-in-law) ".

8. K. Gopalachari (Early Hist. of the Andhra country, 1941, pp. 54—58, 66-67).

(1) V. Pulumavi

(2) V. Sri Satakarni (K. 994)=Siva Sri of the Puranas.
=V. Catarapana Satakarni (N.)

(3) Satakarni (J.)=Sivaskanda Satakarni of the Puranas and brother or nephew of (2).

(4) Sri-Yajna—His relationship to (2) and (3) ' cannot be ascertained '.

Amidst these conflicting and contradictory identifications and order of succession, it is not easy to discover a final solution to the problem. Perhaps the present attempt to review the position and to attempt a solution from a new angle might yet add one more conundrum to the existing list instead of simplifying it. But that is no reason why the investigation should be given up.

It is certain, however, that Vasisthiputra Sri Satakarni (K. 994) cannot be identified with V. Pulumavi (although both bear a common metronymic) for reasons already given by Nilakanta Sastri, Gopalachari and others. Pulumavi has not been found in any record with ' Satakarni ' as part of his name ; he could not have married his own contemporary's (i.e., Castana's) great-grand daughter ; and Sateraka, the confidential minister, could not have been ignorant of the name of his own master.

This last ground also stands in the way of equating him with Siva Sri of the Puranic list. Yet Gopalchari, while rightly rejecting his ' identification with Pulumavi' says " He must therefore be a successor of Pulumavi. In the Puranic lists Sivasri, the Vasithiputa siva Siri-Satakani of the coins figures as the successor of Pulumavi (perhaps his brother). As ' Siva ' and ' siri ' are honorofic prefixes, no insuperable difficulty is involved in the identification of Vasithiputa Siri-Satakani

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with Vasithiputa siva-siri-Satakani". It may be accepted that Siva-Sri of the Puranic lists was the king bearing the name Vasithiputa Siva Sri Satakani on the coins. But he need not be identical with Vasithiputra Sri Satakarni of the Kanheri inscription (No. 994) or of the coin said to have been traced by Gopalachari in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, because the term ' Siva ' is absent from *both* of these records. ' Siva ' is crucially a personal name and cannot be brushed aside as mere honorific.

The fact appears to be that the authors of the Puranas were either unaware of the existence of V. Sri Satakarni (K. 994) and Vasithiputa Catarpana Satakani (N.) or deliberately ignored them. Bakhle appears to have been partially right when he remarked about the latter : 'The Puranas have probably *ignored* this king, as his rule was confined to Western India '. I have said partially right because the reason assigned by him for this omission by the Puranic writers does not seem to be correct as will be shown in the sequel.

From a very critical examination of the evidence relating to the history of Aparanta, Hari Charan Ghosh came to the conclusion that the twice defeated Satakani of the Junagadh inscription was Sri Yajna of the K. I. (No. 1024), and that V. Sri Satakarni of the K.I. (994) "was in some way connected with Sri Yajna and may possibly be his brother and connected in his rule ". His identification of Satakarni of the Junagadh record with Sri Yajna of the K. I. (1024) may be accepted; but the fraternal relationship between him and the Satakarni of K. I. (994) is questionable because the former was a Gotamiputra and the latter a Vasisthiputra. Yet that there was some relationship between the two cannot be denied due to the ' non-remoteness of connection between the former and Rudradaman asserted in the Junagadh inscription. Sri Yajna became ' non-remotely connected ' with Rudradaman, because of his relationship with the latter's son-in-law, V. Sri Satakarni of the K. I. (994). The marriage between Rudradaman's daughter and Vasisthiputra Sri Satakarni must have preceded the defeat of Sri Yajna Satakarni at the hands of Rudradaman. Before attacking the Satavahana power, the *Mahaksatrapa* appears to have sown seeds of disruption in the Satavahana family by giving his daughter in marriage to V. Sri Satakarni who was most probably a brother of Pulumavi who was also a Vasisthiputra according to coins (see Rapson p. 25). That V. Sri Satakarni was totally lost to the Satavahana family and became a tool and a protege of the *Mahaksatrapa* Rudradaman might have been the reason for the

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This Satavahana ruler is mentioned in the Puranas as the immediate successor of Sivasvati, but their relationship is not stated in them. It may be inferred on the basis of an epithet in one of the Nasik inscription[1] C—Kulapurusa-parampara-gata raja-sabdasy—that he was probably a son of Sivasvati also mentioned as Sivasvami. In the famous Nasik record of the reign of Pulomavi, Gautami Balasri figures as his mother and his own metronymic Gautamiputra corroborates this relationship. The monarch's personal name was Satakarni and he was the third famous ruler of the Satavahana family to bear that name.

One very important problem is that concerning his date. Rapson has suggested[2] presuming fundamentally, that the records of Nahapana, the Ksaharata king, are to be ascribed to the Saka Era, that he was killed by Gautamiputra, that this event must have taken place in the eighteenth regnal year of Gautamiputra and that the accession of this Satavahana king must be ascribed to (46 + 78 A. D. =124 A. D. —18) 106 A. D. The Puranas assign Gautamiputra a reign of 24 years. It follows from this that this Satakarni ruled between 106—130 A. D. Many scholars have adopted this date. This is however an untenable position. Dubreuil and others have shown how the interval postulated by this date for the rule of Nahapana, his extermination by and the wide conquests of Gautamiputra, the conquests of Chastana and of his grandson Rudradaman is too short and how a close examination of the restruck coins of the Jogelthombi hoard indicates a long interval between Nahapana and Gautamiputra, and how, therefore their contemporaniety is impossible.[3] It has also been suggested with good reason that the records of Nahapana's reign might have been dated in an earliar Saka era[4] and that the palaeography of the inscription of Usavadatta, son-in-law of Nahapana, and the style of the monuments set up by him are in favour of a first century B. C. date[5] One strong objection to Rapson's date is that on the evidence of Ptolemy Pulomavi and Chastana were the rulers of Paithan and Ujjain, respectively, about 130 A. D. Rapson's date would imply that Pulomavi came to the throne in 130 A. D. and ruled till 154 A. D. since inscriptions give him a reign of 24 years. It follows from this that many of the conquests of Gautami-

1. E. I. VIII, Nasik ins. No. 2.
2. CAC. Intro.
3. JRAS. 1925.
4. K. P. Jayaswal has expressed this view in his Saka-Satavahana History.
5. JRAS 1899; page 372; 1904, page 373; 1925 page 11.

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putra in 124 A. D. were lost within six years, i.e., within his own life time or immediately on the accession of his son Pulomavi, for, numismatic evidence indicates that Chastana ruled over Guzerat, Kathiawar and Ujjain,[6] all of which were previously conquered by Gautamiputra. The Nasik inscription of Balasri dated in the nineteenth year of Pulomavi's reign describes in vivid detail the glorious conquests of her son. It was a record set up on the occasion of the dedication of one of the caves in the Nasik group. The entire record creates the impression that the queen was recounting with pride the qualities and achievements of a great conqueror in whose name the cave was being dedicated. This eulogy would be completely out of place if the conquests of Gautamiputra were in the nature of mere predatory raids or a passing phase and particularly irrelevant if they had been lost to the Sakas of Ujjain by that time. This precludes the possibility of the nineteenth year of Pulomavi's reign being near 130 A. D, the year in which Chastana was the ruler of Ujjain. There is evidence to show that Pulomavi maintained in tact most of the wide dominions left to him by his father Gautamiputra. According to one view[7] it was a Kushan ruler, probably Kanishka, that commissioned Chastana to prevent further Satavahana aggression and recover as much territory as possible from them. Kanishka came to the throne in 120 A. D. and this provides the upper limit of Chastana's conquests This date must also be subsequent to the nineteenth year of Pulomavi's reign and not before it. This locates the commencement of Pulomavi's reign in the first decade of the second century A. D. According to Rapson, Pulomavi would have ruled between 130—154 A. D. The Junagadh inscription of Rudradaman[8] shows that by 150 A. D. he was the ruler of eastern and western Malwa, Anupa, Surastra, Kukura, and Aparanta, territories which were formerly conquered by Gautamiputra. It is impossible that records indicating Pulomavi's rule could have existed at Nasik and Karla under these circumstances. Further, Rudradaman states that his comtemporary Satavahana ruler was a Satakarni Daksinapathapati and Pulomavi had neither of these titles. In view of these facts it becomes impossible to postulate that Pulomavi's rule commenced in 130 A. D. The only reasonable alternative is to take 130 A. D. to be the last year of his reign, and ascribe his rule to 102—130 A. D. and that of his father and immediate predecessor Gautamiputra Satakarni to 78—102 A. D.

6 I A. Vol. 47, page 153.

7. CIC—AMK Intro. cvi; Smith—E. H. pages 210-211.

8. E. I. VIII.

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The next problem is concerned with the territory over which Gautamiputra ruled during the first seventeen years of his reign. His earliest known connection with Maharashtra is mentioned in a record dated in the eighteenth year of his reign containing a gift in that region and found inscribed at Nasik[9]. This monarch is described in his mother Balasri's inscription as the up-rooter of the ksaharatavamsa. The records of Usvadatta indicate that his father-in-law Nahapana ruled over western and north-western Dekkan. Gautamiputra is also known to have ruled over the same territories. The conclusion thereforo is obvious that he could not have ruled over the west till the 18th year of his reign. If so, where was he ruling before the conquest of the west? Professor Mirashi has suggested[10] that Gautamiputra was at this time in Vidarbha and that that was the starting point of his conquests. His suggestion seems to be based on two grounds-viz-that one of the Nasik inscriptions[11] describes the monarch as Benakatasvami and that more than 300 coins of the Tarahala hoard belong to him. He identifies Benakata with the region on either bank of the Wainganga but Kata as in Kalyanakata, Dhanyakata, etc., should mean a fortified city and not a region. There is nothing in the coins mentioned above to warrant their assignment to Gautamiputra and the distinction drawn by Mirashi is too subtle. His entire argument is vitiated by the fact that Vidarbha figures in the list of countries conquered by Gautamiputra and could not, as such, have been the region where he could have ruled before the conquests were made. The inscription of Balasri indicates beyond doubt that this area should be beyond Aparanta, Kukura, Saurastra, Anupa, Akaravanti and Vidarbha. In other words it seems that the area could not be in western north-western and northern Dekkan. It must have been in central, eastern and southern Dekkan. Balasri's inscription mentions the monarch as the Lord of the Mahendra, Cakora and Sirithana mountains These are names of three ranges of the Eastern Ghats. The region round about them is Andhradesa. The gift contained in the record of his eighteenth regnal year, mentioned above, was made from the camp of the victorious Vaijayanti army and be taken to indicate that the king was at Vaijayanti at the time. Both Andhra and Vaijayanti are not mentioned in the list of conquered countries. Gautamiputra's son and immediate successor Pulomavi has inscriptions and coins in both Andhra and Maharashtra[12] indicating that he ruled over both. There

9. E. I. VIII Nasik ins. o. 4.
10. Jour Num. Soc. Vol II
11. E. I VIII Nasik insNo. 4.
12. Rapson—CAC.

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is not a shred of evidence to show that he conquered either. The only alternative, therefore, is to suppose that he inherited the two regions from his father. This could not have been possible if Gautamiputra had not ruled over Andhradesa. All these considerations lead us to conclude that the monarch was ruling during the first seventeen years of his reign over central, eastern and southern Dekkan.

The next question relates to the capital of Gautamiputra. There is no definite evidence to locate it in any particular place. There are no doubt some legends which associate the Satavaharas with Paithan. A certain Salivahana and his son Saktikumara are mentioned as hailing from that city,[13] but it is not certain who these rulers were. Another story connects a Satavahana as a boy with the town and makes him a contemporary of Vikramaditya of Ujjain[14]. It is not certain who this ruler was. The Jaina Avasyakasutra mentions a Paithanaka-Salivahana as contemporary of Nahapana of Bharukaccha but its Sanskrit version in the Abhidhanarajendra[15] equates this Salivahana with Hala. Nahapana flourished in the first century B. C. and Hala in the first century A.D. and they could not have been contemporaries. The Kathasaritsagara mentions a Satavahana as ruler of Paithan and there are strong reason for identifying this monarch with Kuntala Satakarni. The Lilavati, a later Prakrit work, states that Paithan was the capital of Hala. There are no such traditions connecting Gautamiputra with Paithan. The possibility of this town being that monarch's capital is ruled out by the fact that it was situated in Mulaka, a province conquered by him. It is certain at any rate that at least during the first seventeen years of the reign Paithan could not have been capital. It has been stated above that his rule during this period was confined to a central, eastern and southern Dekkan. We must, therefore, look for his probable capital in this reign. It is generally agreed that in the time of Ptolemy Paithan was the capital of Pulomavi and Ujjain of Chastana. One of the Nasik inscriptions dated in the nineteenth year of Pulomavi[17] mentions that king with the title Navanarsvami. Two interpretations have been

13. CHI. page 531.

14. JBBRAS Vol. X page 132.

15. For both extracts see Jayaswal's Saka-Satavahana History App.

16. See the Kathapithatambaka.

17. E. I. VIII- Nasik ins. No. 3.

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offerred of this title-one that Navanara is an abbreviation of Navarastranara, another name of Maharashtra, and that the title means that Pulomavi was Lord of Maharashtra[18] and the other that Navanara means Navanagara or New Town and that it implies that Pulomavi built a new extension at Paithan and styled himself its lord.[19] The first interpretation is ingenious but far fetched. According to the second interpretation the building of Navanagara must be ascribed to 121 A. D., the nineteenth year of Pulomavi This was the time of Kanishka. It is very likely, therefore, that in anticipation of trouble Pulomavi shifted his capital to Paithan, which had served as the capital of his family formerly, and built Navanagara for the accommodation of his government. This too implies that some other place must have been his original capital. This some place situated in central, eastern or southern Dekkan must have been the Satavahana capital from 78 A D, the year of Gautamiputra's accession to 121 A.D. the year in which Pulomavi might have shifted it to Paithan. Among the successors of Pulomavi Yajna Sri was the greatest but his name is not associated with Paithan. Chinese sources state that the monastery of Acharya Nagarjuna on Sriparvata was near the capital of a Satavahana king and there is strong reason to identify this Satavahana king with Yajna Sri. Sriparvata is identified with Nagarjunakonda in the Guntur district. There is one place in the same district near enough to Sriparvata and eminently suited to be the capital of the Satavahanas-Dhanyakataka or modern Dharanikota on the Krishna in the Sattenapalli taluk of the Guntur district. It was the home of the celebrated mahacaitya of Amaravati, a place of sufficient importance as early as the second century B. C.,[20] a nigama and a viceregal centre of the Pallavas[21] in the post-Satavahana period. The mahacaitya of this place contained inscriptions of three latter Satavahana kings, Pulomavi, Yajna Sri and Sivamaka. It will be reasonable therefore to suppose that this Dhanyakataka was the Satavahana capital from 78 A. D. to 121 A. D.

Another problem is Gautamiputra's relationship with Andhradesa. Many scholars hold that this monarch had nothing to do with that country and that his son Pulomavi was the first Satavahana to rule over it. We have already shown above how a comparison of the extent of the

18. ABORI Vol. XXIII pages 196—205.

19. J. A. Vol. 47 page 152.

20. This date is indicated by the palaegraphy of the earliest inscriptions found on the caitya.

21. C.f. Mydavolu plates.

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dominions of Nahapana with the list of countries conquered by Gautamiputra indicates that during the first seventeen years of his reign his rule was confined to central, eastern and southern Dekkan. The bulk of Andhradesa is situated in this region. There is further corroborative evidence. The Nasik record of Balasri itself describes Gautamiputra as the lord of three hill ranges named Mahendra, Sirithana and Cakora. Mahendra is the famous Mahendragiri in Kalinga. Sirithana is identified with Srisailam and Cakora must have been the name of the ghat section situated between the Krishna and the Godavary. The mention of these hills must obviously mean the monarch's overlordship of the region round these hills. A good part of Andhradesa lies on either side of these ghats. The general trend of Satavahana history also confirms this view. Satakarni II is known to have ruled over Kalinga Kuntala Satakarni had a queen who obviously hailed from Kalinga.[22] Hala is said to have married a Ceylonese princess at Saptagodavaribhima in southern Kalinga. Many coins of Gautamiputra and Pulomavi have been found in the districts of the eastcoast. The only known inscription of Camdasati,[23] the last but one of the Satavahana kings, has been found in coastal Andhra. Satakarni, a successor of Pulomavi and contemporary of Rudradaman, had the title Daksinapathapati though at the time he did not own western and northern Dekkan. It is not known definitely where exactly the predecessors of Gautamiputra ruled but those that came after Satakarni II do not seem to have ruled over western India. Thus the Satavahanas both before and after Gautamiputra seem to have ruled over Andhradesa. The whole question is clinched by the fact that Pulomavi was its ruler even though there is not a shred of evidence to indicate his conquest of the region. He must have inherited it. All these considerations lead to the conclusion that Gautamiputra did rule over Andhradesa.

It may, therefore be concluded that this great Satavahana king flourished between 78- 102 A. D, that he, like his immediate ancestors, ruled over Andhra for the first seventeen years of his reign and that in all probability Dhanyakataka was his capital at least during this period.

22. I hold that the Katinga—Sataraja of the Yugapurana is identical with this monarch.

23. E. I XVIII pages 316—17.

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ASOKA'S FOREIGN POLICY.

Benoy Chandra Sen.

There are certain misconceptions regarding Asoka's relations with foreign Powers, which can be removed on a close study of his inscriptions.

At least up to the time of the conquest of Kalinga, the emperor definitely appears to have been a follower of the policy of aggressive militarism, which had been actively sponsored by generations of Magadhan rulers. In the thirteenth rock-edict, immediately after the mention of the Kalinga affair, Asoka refers to the Atavis. This reference to the Atavis can not apply to all forest-areas in general[1]. Otherwise it will mean that there must have been a general revolt against the authority of Asoka amongst all the diverse forest-tribes scattered throughout his empire. The Atavis, must, therefore, be regarded as a people living in a particular area, perhaps in Central India.[2] But at the time of the composition of the thirteenth rock-edict the Atavi territory was already a part of Asoka's empire like Kalinga (*vijite bhoti*). But there was one difference between Kalinga and the Atavi territory in their respective reactions to his military policy. Asoka reminds the both that although he is remorseful for his action against them, his power stands unabated (*anutape pica prabhave*). This means that if it were necessary, he would exercise all the power needed to deal with recalcitrance. What he wanted from the newly conquered peoples was complete submission to his authority, a frank confession of the wrong done and an expression of regret by them. In short Asoka thought it was a folly on the part of peoples like the Atavyas to put up a fight against such a powerful king as he was. An inscription of the early ninth century A.D. seems to truly express Asoka's sentiment in the following words: ko vidvan balina sah-alpe balakah spardham-vidhatte param nites-tad-dhi phalam yad-atma-parayor-adhikya-samidanam.

It was after these wars that Asoka initiated a new policy, viz., the policy that of dhammavijaya. It was propounded between the eighth year of his coronation and the thirteenth when the Dharmamahamatras were appointed. They were entrusted with certain duties which Asoka refers to in the thirteenth rock edict.

It is to be particularly noted that the element of violence or of bloody conflict is not totally absent in Asoka's conception of dhammavijaya. In defining dhammavijaya he clearly says that even if there is conflict or violence, he wishes all living beings non-injury, self-control and impartiality which implies that if violence were indispensable, it must not be unmitigated. But this reference to hostility, violence or

1 B. M. Barua, Asoka, volume. I, page 29. 2 D. R. Bhandarkar, Asoka.

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conflict occurs only in the Shahbazgarhi version of the edict. This accords with the earlier statement in the same inscription that he was sorry for the Kalinga war because the people then professed either the religion of the Brahmanas or the Sramanas.

The application of the policy of dhammavijaya drew a distinction between territories in and outside India. The Shahbazgarhi version had a special local significance. It emphasised the possibility of violence and war by reason of the locale of that region. It also sought to allay the apprehensions of the people by impressing upon them that violence would correspond to exigency, and that it would be governed by the policy of Dhammavijaya. The use of the words *aksati* and *samacarya* in the passage may go to show that under the influence of this policy as he understood it, he might even refrain from inflicting the highest punishment on the defeated enemy by capturing his territory. That the passage quoted above contains a definition of Asoka's' idea of dhammavijaya which he himself translated into action is evident from the fact that immediately after this occurs the declaration: *ayi ca mukha-muta vijaye devanam-priyasa yo dhrama-vijayo.* (This is highest form of vijaya, that which is called dhammavijaya). This declaration must be connected with the preceding passage in which Asoka says how he should behave in case hostilites break out. That this preceding passage contains a true explanation of his dhammavijaya is further shown in the concluding part of the same edict in which he exhorts his sons and their successors to adhere to the policy of dhammavijaya, defining it there also in an almost identical language. "In a conquest which is possible indeed by the force of arms, says Asoka in this passage, 'let them like to practise forbearance and light punishment'. (Barua, Asoka, page. 193). Immediately after this statement Asoka adds that they should think of no other conquest except dhammavijaya. There should be no objection against taking these passages, one following the other, constituting one whole, one part containing a definition of dhammavijaya, and the other exhorting his successors to follow that policy. While offering his advice in this strain to the future Maurya rulers, Asoka says : *kiti putra papotra me asu navam vijayam ma Vijatavia,* which should not, in the context in which it occurs, be taken to contain a categorical denunciation of conquest of every form. Such a meaning assigned to it would contradict what he says in the passage which follows these words : manisu-spakaspi-yo-vijye khanti-cha-lahu-damdata-cha rochetu tain-cha-yo-vijam-manatu-yo-dhrama-vijayo.[1] where he contemplates a situation in which the use of force may be necessary, which he does not condemn, and which he connects with the policy of dhammavijaya. Thus Asoka's advice amounts to this thatno conquest other

(1) D. C. Sircar, Select Inscriptions, page 38.

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than dhammavijaya should be attempted to be achieved even if war became a necessity, not that they should not attempt any form of conquest at all.

If Asoka's own words are to be trusted, the dhammavijaya achieved by him was of a superb character. It will however, be too much to presume that in every case of dhammavijaya, success came to him throu gh war as a condition precedent, an essential prerequisite. Within India the Chola, Pandya, Satiyaputra and Keralaputra states, and outside India the territories of five Greek rulers, Antiochos, Ptolemy Philadelphos, Magas, Alexander and Antigonos, and the kingdom of Ceylon, came within the orbit of his dhammavijaya. Besides, certain territories within India, such as those of the Kambojas, Bhojas, Andhras, Palidas, Nabhaka, Nabhitras, etc, have been specifically mentioned in his glowing account of the success connected with dhammavijaya. But Asoka after having established friendly relations with a number of rulers in and outside India was not prepared to preserve any unpleasant trace of the past. He was interested only in the ultimate result of which he justly felt proud. In giving the names of the territories where the banner of his dhammavijaya floated Asoka uses the expression *'iha'* which is followed by the enumeration of the foreign states with whom he established friendly relations. To accept *'iha'* in this passage in the sense of Asoka's whole empire is not sound. He speaks of his success in the propagation of dhamma in his own dominions in many of his numerous edicts, but he does not use the word dhammavijaya in this context. Usually the word *'vadhi'* or vriddhi (growth of dhamma) occurs in such connection. Indeed the word 'vijaya' is not a generic term that can be used everywhere, where success of any kind or in any field is to be expressed; it has a definite association with political relations, from which it can not be easily disentangled. It appears highly probable that Asoka was thinking of his success not only in certain foreign countries but also in certain parts of his empire, which admittedly had a higher status in his imperial system, viz., the territories of the Kambojas, Bhojas, etc, mentioned later in the same inscription, which he meant in using the expression, 'iha.,

There is another matter to be considered in connection with the political relations existing between Asoka and the foreign states mentioned by him. Did these states while retaining their independence acknowledge Asoka's supremacy? There is no positive evidence which can throw light on the solution of this question. It is, however, clear that he sent ambassadors (dutas) to the courts of at least some of these foreign rulers. What appears quite probable is that Asoka may not have

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insisted upon or received an actual acknowledgment of his supremacy, but may have been satisfied with the recognition of the basic principles of his foreign policy which was founded upon a new note of internationalism, good neighbourly relations, humanitarianism and pacifism. These were his great gifts to that age of discord and turmoil. The acceptance of these principles would be a sufficient vindication of his moral leadership, and also a proper and effective safeguard against aggressive designs of external enemies. In foreign relations it was this aspect of his policy which denoted the content of Asoka's dhamma. An initial mistake seems to have been committed by supposing that Asoka claimed to have preached Buddhism in these foreign countries and to have achieved phenomenal success in his endeavour. If we have to judge him by his own words, it is only fair to say tha he makes no such claim in his edicts. The dhamma which he preached in India was suitable for that country in a special sense; it would be absurd to say that he sent ambassadors to these foreign countries, who asked their inhabitants to make gifts to Brahmanas and Sramanas, Ajivikas and Nirgranthas, to refrain from killing or sacrificing animals, and to obey the dhamma-niyamas which Asoka introduced. Several scholars have first of all taken it for granted that Asoka in his edicts claims to have successfully propagated Buddhism in foreign countreis, and then proceed by an examination of the remnants of Buddhism in those countries dating from subsequent periods to show that this claim must be regarded as perfectly justified. That Asoka who made a distinction between countries where Brahmanism or Buddhism prevailed and those where it did not, is obvious; and it may be granted that he may have taken steps for the propagation of dhamma, as defined by him, in those territories in the subcontinent of India which remained independent and outside his empire but not in countries outside India where only the fundamental principles of his dhamma which concerned international relation may have been disseminated with some amount of success.[1] Rhys David's theory that no envoy was sent by Asoka to Greek countries was mainly based on a sentiment that could not believe in an Indian king's claim that he succeeded in exercising cultural or religious influence upon the highly civilized Greeks. Whether Asoka succeeded in introducing Buddhism into these foreign countries or not is beside the point; for Asoka himself does not appear to make any such claim.

1 The second rock edict mentions Tamraparni, the Yona King and his unnamed neighbours, the Cholas, Pandyas, Satiyaputra and Keralaputra; the Fifth, Rockedict refers to the Yonas. Kambojas Gandharas, Rathikas, Pitrikas.

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When we turn to the second separate rock-edict, we find some valuable material throwing light on the method that Asoka followed in carrying out his policies of dhammavijaya. In this edict which embodies Asoka's instructions issued to his officers in Kalinga, they are charged with the solemn duty of winning the affections of the unconquered Antas. These people, according to Asoka, must be naturally anxious to have an authentic exposition of the policy which guided his relationship with them. His policy in the circumstances was required to be fully explained to them [amitanam avijitanam kim-chhamda su-laja-aphesu-ti] These people were to be told that they should have no apprehensions with regard to the king's attitude; that they should have faith in him and have happiness from him, not sorrow; that the king would pardon them as far as it was possible for him to do so, and that they should practise dhamma for his sake. To them also was to be explained the king's policy towards his own subjects. They were to be told that Asoka regarded himself as the father of his subjects, and that his determination to carry out his policy, and his application were of an unshakable character; he wanted to be intimately connected with all desas (sakala desayntike hosami) or territories. When these two parts, one explaining his attitude towards the unconquered Antas and the other his policy towards his own subjects, are taken together, the real object of the king becomes clear and definite. If the unconquered people wanted to keep out of the empire, they could continue to do so but they must not do anything for which it might be necessary for him to punish them. They should have complete faith in his policy of non-aggression. In the second part there is a tempting invitation for them to join his empire where as subjects they would be treated by him like his children. It may be noted here that in so far as the king's policy as stated in this edict applies to a particular area which had not yet been conquered, the mention of the king's desire to pardon all offences which could be excused may indicate that a conflict in some form had already appeared. He was not however insisting on the occupation of this territory, but if it desired to be united with the empire, it would enjoy the privileges mentioned by him; there would be no ruthless persecution of those who had acted against him; they would be treated justly and not in a vindictive manner. Even if they did not surrender to him and chose to remain independent, they could practise dhamma for his sake; which means that they would thereby accept his moral leadership. This was the means which Asoka found by which he could establish ascendancy over all desas. The Antas mentioned in this edict can not be regarded as a border-people living within the limits of his empire; they did not belong to his dominions as the

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edict definitely says. In the thirteenth rock-edict Asoka speaks of the Greek rulers as Antas. These Antas mentioned in the second Kalinga edict must have been the independent neighbours of the Kalinga country whose officers were asked by Asoka to announce and explain his policy to them.

The success of Asoka's foreign policy was not inconsiderable. Through successful military operations he was able to annex Kalinga and the Atavi country; through the policy of dhammavijaya he was able to establish friendly relations with five Greek potentates, with the ruler of Ceylon, and with the four Tamil states of the south; he was determined to cultivate amicable relations with the Antas, who were a source of friction to their neighbours, the people of Kalinga; the object of his propaganda carried on through the instrumentality of the provincial officers of Kalinga was to stop their restlessness by declaring to them his policy of non-aggression, at the same time to keep the door open for their entrance into his empire as his subjects. All these were no mean achievements of a king who preached a policy of international amity from the eighth year of his coronation. It must be remembered also that his special reference to the Kambojas, Andhras, etc. in connexion with dhammavijaya which is essentially a political term as understood by Asoka shows that a new era may have started in his reign in the relationship between the Maurya empire and their territories.

We have sufficient indications in Asoka's edicts to be able to fom an estimate of his foreign policy. The picture can not be expected to be complete for doubts must remain until new light is found. One way of doing justice to Asoka is to refuse to accept any evidence as final and reliable which in reality it is not, for the purpose of drawing up the exact boundaries of the Maurya empire as it stood before the conquest of Kalinga by Asoka; the second is not to attribute to him what he does not actually claim; and the third to examine critically all the evidence which his edicts contain for the determination of the true extent of his power and authority. There is, firstly, no material or direct evidence of any relationship between Asoka's predecessors and the Tamil States of the South; secondly, Asoka's predecessors came into contact with Seleukos Nikator, Ptolemy Philadelphos, and possibly also a Greek king of Syria; but Asoka established contact with a vast world extending up to the Mediterranean Sea; his contact with Ceylon opened up a whole history of Indo-Ceylonese relationship unknown before. These were his positive achievements about which no doubt can be entertained. The general tendency among scholars so far has been to regard Asoka,

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more or less as th e inheritorof a vast empire bequeathed to him by his predecessors, and as the conqueror of a sin gle country, viz. Kalinga. But can it be safely asserted that all required evidence has been found to prove that the limits of the empire as it existed in Asoka's time had been practically markedo ut a ndfixedb ef ore his career a sa ruler began? It must be frankly admitted that specific and reliable evidence with regard to each and every part of the Maurya empire as it definitely stood in Asoka's time is not a vailable. There are gaps in the history of the develo pment and expansion of the Maurya empire which have not yet been filled up. To start with, a preconceived notion as to the influence of dhamma on Asoka's mind and career will prove a positive hindrance in drawing an accurate estimate of Asoka, the king. There is no dearth of evidence to show that Asoka was fully conscious of his pow er and resources; he regarded himself as a superior party in his conflicts with other powers, a party with whom rested the competence to punish or to pardon. His sentiment of remorse only humanised his relations; it did not alter his ultimate political objective. The collapse of the Nanda empi re, the break-down of indigenous governments over a vast area as a result of Alexander' s invasion, the disintegration of the government which he set up for the administration of the conquered territories, had deepened and intensified the political instability of the times. When such conditions existed they must have favoured a general tendency towards dismemberment. It can not be maintained that amidst such conditions all that the long generations of aggressive rulers had ach ieved in the past came readily and with the ease of a settled inheritance into the possession of the Mauryas even if it is held that Mahapadma Nanda had already established his paramountcy over a large part of India. Many things had to be done anew to restore political equilibrium and to coalesce scattered and disentangled masses of territory. Asoka must have contributed a good deal towards the expansion and stabilization of the Maurya empire. He was fully aware of the clouds that were gathering on the horizon of India's neighbour states; as a proof of this we can cite the Shahbazgarhi version of the thirteenth rock-edict where alone he hints at the possibility of war. He was determined to protect his frontier if it was threatened, no matter how he should act in the conduct of any war that might actually break out. Scholars have generally accepted the view that the first four years following Asoka's accession constitu ted a period of extreme trouble and embarrassment for him, the exact nature of which is not known. For the first two years of his reign, then, he seems to have followed a policy of militarism in order to get rid of his troubles and to make his position secure against such forces

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as were opposeed to him. He may have battled against intransigent situation, with all the vigour and energy of his personality which were later transmuted into new creative forces, continuously for a number of years, when along with Kalinga and Atavi, many other territories may have been fought against and subjugated. When he formulated his policy of dhammavijaya, it did not occur to him that later generations would condemn him as a pacifist who contributed to the downfall of his empire. That policy of his did not deny that war was a possibility, and Asoka no where says that he abandoned his faith in war, or that he would never undertake a war in any circumstances whatever. War was not eliminated in Asoka's concept of dhammavijaya. If Asoka was capable of maintaining his empire in tact for forty years that alone should be a testimony to his firm rule and the respect that he must have secured for his authority from neighbour-states. We do not always measure the greatness of a ruler by the extent of his military successes; he is also to be judged by the way in which he conducts his relations with other states. Asoka gave convincing evidence not only of his military powers in an abundant manner, but also of his ability to initiate and maintain active relationship with a number of foreign states. In foreign relations he aspired more after the leadership which is the natural reward that falls to the lot of the inaugurator of a new ideal that benefits mankind rather than a mere recognition of political paramountcy which is a constant source of friction and irritation.

SIMHALA—THE ISLAND OR THE PEOPLE ?

G. C. Mendis.

It is generally assumed that the name Simhaladvipa is derived from the name of a tribe or people called Simhalas who gave their name to the island as well as to its language[1] just as the Angles gave their name to England and to its language English. This assumption was no doubt due to the legend of Vijaya in the *Mahavamsa* where in explaining the origin of the name Simhala it states that King Sihabahu since he had captured the lion was called Sihala and therefore all those connected with him were also called Sihala.[2] This explanation was probably accepted by many as the Pali chronicles refer to other tribes in Ceylon bearing the names of animals and birds and they considered that the Simhalas were another of these to temistic tribes.

1 *Culavamsa.* Eng. Trs. page 29, No. 2.
Codrington : *A Short History of Ceylon, page* 1.

2 *Mahavamsa.* VII 42. *Sihabahunarindo so siham adinnava iti Sihalo, tena sambandha ete sabbe pi Sihala.*

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The Vijaya legend, as the strong influence of the Jataka tales shows, is clearly later than the introduction of Buddhism to Ceylon. The story incidentally explains in the same fanciful manner also the origin of other names such as Tambapanni and of a people called Pulinda by which the Vaddas or an earlier set of inhabitants appear to have been meant.

But it is striking that, apart from the account of Vijaya, nowhere else in the *Mahavámsa* is there a reference to the name Sihala with reference to the people, the island or the language. The name most frequently used for the island is Lanka. There is no attempt to explain the origin of this name. It appears to mean a mark, and probably came to be applied to Ceylon from the island imaginary or real called Lanka which was believed to have existed at the intersection of the equator and the meridian of Ujjein.[4] The other name given to this island in this chronicle is Tambapanni, which occurs five times in the story of Vijaya and once in the account of the coming to Ceylon of Mahinda, the apostle of Buddhism.[5]

In the older chronicle, the *Dipavamsa*, the early parts of which may go back to the first century B. C. or even earlier, Ceylon is frequently referred to as Tambapanni as well as Lanka. In this chronicle the name Sihala occurs in the account of the same legend. It comes in only once and that not as a name of a people but as a name of the island. It is stated that the island of Lanka was called Sihala because of the lion.[6]

The *Mahavamsa* is considered to have been written about the sixth century A. D.[7] In an earlier work, *Samantapasadika*, the Pali Commentry to the *Vinaya Pitaka*, composed early in the second quarter of the fifth century,[8] the name Sihala occurs, but as in the *Dipavamsa* it is used in reference to the island. It is stated that because the Commentary was composed in the speech belonging to the Sihaladipa the sense was not clear to the multitude of monks on the continent.[9]

3. Ibid VII, page 68.
4. Ceylon Literary Register Vol. I, pages 130—293.
5. VI. 47 . VI 38 : 39 ; 41, 74 ; XIV. 35.
6. IX. 1 *Lankadipo ayam ahu sihena Sihala (Sihalam) iti.*
7. University of Ceylon Review IV. page.
8. Ibid.
9. *Samvannana Sihaladipakena vakyena esa pana sankhatatta.*

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In the *Culavamsa*, the second part of the *Mahavamsa*, the name Sihala occurs more frequently, but only on a few occasions in the accounts that deal with events prior to the tenth century. The first part of the *Culavamsa* was written about the end of the twelfth century, but the early parts may be translations of earlier Sinhalese originals. The first reference in XXXVII. 62 is clearly to the island as opposed to India,[10] The second reference is in XXXVII.-175 where again the reference is not to the people. Mahadhammakathin is said to have translated the Pali suttas into the Sihala dialect[11]

In the *Culavamsa* XXXVII.- 228ff., in the story of Buddhaghosa, however, Mahinda is said to have compiled the *Atthakatha* in the Sihala tongue and that it spread among the Sihalas.[12] It is not clear in this passage whether the Sihala refers to a tribe or people as such or the people of Sihala. In any case this story appears to be late as it does not strictly correspond in details to the accounts in the *Mahavamsa* or the Pali commentaries attributed to Buddhaghosa. If the rest of the chapter is early the legend may be an interpolation.

In XXXIX. 38 Mahinda III who reigned from c. 797-801 is said to be the king of the Sihalas. Here it is clear the name refers to the people but it may be derived from the name of the island. In the next passage LV. 12 in reference to an event late in the tenth century Sihala is mentioned as opposed to Kerala and Kannata[13]

Though it was known that Ceylon was called Simhala very early the fact that it occurs so rarely in early records unlike Lanka and Tambapanni shows that it was not a popular name in ancient times and that it probably arose in India. One of the earliest references to Ceylon by this name is in the *Divyavadana*. As in the *Dipavamsa* it too relates a story to explain how the name Simhaladvipa arose. According to it Ceylon was called Tamradvipa, which seems to be an abbreviated form of Tamrapamidipa. A merchant Simhala, son of a merchant Simha of Simhakalpa, which was ruled by Simhakesari, went to Tamradvipa, destroyed the

10. *Lohapasadam ado va'kasi pasadamuttamam ranno Mahapanadassa dassento viya Sihale*

11. *Tass'eva ranno rajjamhi Mahadhammakathi yati Suttani parivattesi Sihalaya niruttiya.*

12. *Sariputtadigitam ca kathamaggam somikkhiya kata Sihalabhasaya Siholesu pavattiti.*

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rakshasis there and became king. After this the island received the name Simhaladvipa because king Simhala made it his abode.[14]

The name Simhala occurs also in many other Sanskrit works, but more often than not it refers to the island rather than to the people. According to the *Bhagavata Purana* Simhala is one of the minor insular continents of Jambudvipa.[15] In the Brihat Samhita the term Simhalaka is mentioned along with Pandyaka and other countries,[16] The *Mahabharat* too has some references to Simhalas, but it is not clear whether it means a race by that name or the people of Simhala.[17] But there is no doubt with regard to the reference in the Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta. It clearly shows that the island was meant by Simhala as it refers to the people as Saimhalaka.[18]

In Greek and Roman writings Ceylon was first called as in India Taprobane (Tamrapanni). In Ptolemy's Geography of the second century A. D. the island is called by the name then known Salica and the people Salai.[19] It is probable they are corrupt forms of Simhala. But among those who sent embassies to Emperor Julian (355—360) the people of Ceylon are referred to as Serendivi, i.e. not Simhalas but the people of the island of Simhala.[20]

Another fact worthy of note is that the Pali chronicles refer to many tribes such as Moriya, Lambakanna, Balibhojaka and Kulinga but none of them has the suffix la. I am not aware also of any Indian totemistic tribe which had or has the suffix la added to its name. It is therefore strange that if there were a Simha tribe in Ceylon that it alone added this suffix. It is also not clear why this suffix is often spelt with a cerebral l.

13. *Tato sesesu thanesu Kerala, Sihala tada Karnata ca yathakamam adhipaccam pavattayum.*

14. Ed. by Cowell and Neil. Camb. Univ. Press, page 526. *Simhalenapi rajn avasitam iti Simhaladvipah Simhaladvipa iti samjn asamvritta.*

15. I. page 170 Calcutta. 1895.

16. II 81·2 Ed. Subrahmanya Sastri.

17. Adiparvan adhyaya 177 36. Calcutta Ed.; Sabha Parvan adhyaya 34 adhyaya 52·37 : Vanaparvan adhyaya 51 23 Drona Parvan adhyay 20·7.

18. Corpus *Inscriptianum Indicarum*, Vol. III, page 14.

19. Mc Crindle, *Ancient India as described by Maegasthomas and Araian*, page 26

20. Warmington : *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, page 139.

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Thus the consensus of evidence seems to suggest that Simhala was a name applied to the island by the people of India and it was the island that gave its name to the people and the language.

What then was the origin of the name Simhala? The explanations given in the *Divyavadana,* the *Dipavamsa* and the *Mahavamsa* can not be taken seriously. They seem to be similar to the explanations given by the *Dipavamsa* and the *Mahavamsa* to the name Tambapanni. Vijaya and his followers are said to have landed in N.W. Ceylon, sat down wearied and rested their hands on the ground. Since their hands were reddened by touching the dust of the red earth that region and also the island were named Tambapanni. The red earth of this region may have led to the origin of this myth, but it is clear that it is a fanciful etymology, Tambapanni cannot be derived from *tambapani*

This name too, like Lanka and Simhala, appears to have arisen in India Onesicritus and Megasthenes mention Tapastane in the fourth century B. C. Asoka refers to it in his inscriptions. Tambapannidipa is also mentioned in the Valahassa Jataka[21] and the Pali *Mahaniddesa,*[22]

E.H. Warmington points out that the cinnamon leaf, though not, known as such, was called by the Greeks and the Romans malabathrum and derives it from *tamalapatra.* According to Monier-Williams tamalapatra may also mean cinnamon or cassia leaf. Could it not be derived from *tamrapatra* as the young shoots of the cinnamon are undoubtedly *tamraparna,* if *tamalapatra* is so derived, has the same meaning copper-coloured. Two of the areas in which cinnamon grew in early times were Malabar and Ceylon. Malabar still preseves the name Tamraparni in one of its rivers though at the very south, and Ceylon as we have seen was called Tambapanni from very early times.

H. W. Codrington drew attention many years ago to the fact that simhala in Sanskrit meant cinnamon bark. It is so defined in Sanskrit dictionaries. The *sabdakalpadruma* refers to the medical work *Rajanirgranth* VI. 172 for the word. Can not then Tambapannidipa and Simhaladip mean the Island of Cinnamon ?

It may be contended that I have left solid facts behind and entered into the sphere of speculation in suggesting these derivations. I agree that it is not safe to come to any conclusion on philological grounds alone.

21. o. 196.
22. I. page 55.
23. The commerce between the Roman Empire and India, page 189.
24. Tamra-tamara-tamala-tamala.
25. *A short History of Ceylon,* page 16.

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I realize that it could be argued with equal force that simhala in the sense of cinnamon may have been derived from the name of island and not vice versa, as the occurrence of the word in literature in this sense is late. Under these circumstances, all that can be inferred for the present is that the available evidence tends to show that Simhala was originally the name of the island and that it was the island that gave its name to the people and the language.

CHALCOLITHIC PHASE IN SOUTH INDIAN PRE-HISTORY.

B. B. LAL.

It has often been said that there was no Copper or Bronze Age in South India and that the discovery and use of these metals, in this part of the country, was synchronous with and not anterior to that of iron. Writing in 1905, Vincent Smith opined that in Southern India the Neolithic Period, during which every day tools and weapons were made of stone, highly finished, and often finely polished, passed *directly* into the Iron Age.[1]

The case was again emphatically made out by Robert Bruce Foote in 1916, in the following words: " That the Iron Age in peninsular India was not preceded by a Bronze Age, as in Crete, Greece and so many other Western countries, was probably due to the land-loving character of the neolithic people for, had they possessed any sea-faring inclination, they would have certainly sailed across the Bay of Bengal, reached the Tenasserim coast and there become acquainted with the tinston (cassiterite) of that region. As copper is found plentifully in India, the art of making an alloy must soon have followed. As it fell out, however, the discovery of the alloy was not made in India till after the art of iron-smelting had been acquired, and iron weapons and tools had largely come into use " [2].

True, when Smith and Foote wrote, there was hardly any evidence available to think otherwise. But since then some new discoveries have been made and the entire question needs a re-examination.

The following discussion will show that prior to the use of iron, both copper and bronze *had been used* in South India.

The first evidence in this direction was obtained in 1938-39. While blasting a huge boulder at a hill-side in the vicinity of Kallur, a village in the Raichur district of the Hyderabad State, the labourers accidentally came accross three copper swords.[3] When the matter was

1 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XXXIV, 1905, page 229.

2 *Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities: Notes on their Ages and Distribution*, [Government Museum, Madras, 1916].

3 *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Department, Nizam's Dominions*, for 1937-40, [Calcutta 1942] pp. 23-24, pl. Vb.

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reported to the Archaeological authorities of the State, they realised the significance of this chance discovery, particularly because these swords resembled the ones previously found at Fatehgarh in the United Provinces.[4] Consequently, the area near that hill and around the village of Kallur in general was surveyed and a few neolithic and early metallurgical sites were located. Besides, a small-scale excavation was also carried out at the foot of a hill called Yam migudda.[5]

Although the digging was not stratigraphical and thus lacked in scientific precision, the results achieved were indeed very important. In association with an old furnace were discovered a broken axe of copper, a lump of copper-pyrites and a few other copper fragments, presumably pins. These copper objects were further associated with polished stone axes and microliths Thus, the picture revealed was of that phase of microlithic-neolithic culture when copper [and presumably bronze][6] had also come into use though in a restricted degree. [7]

This incidentally raises the question whether or not these copper implements were locally manufactured. The close association of a lump of copper-pyrites and other copper objects with the furnace suggests, though not conclusively, an answer in the affirmative.[8] There was, however, another important piece of evidence. At a place, a little higher up the same hill, was found ' a queer rough stone about 4 feet by 4 feet which had assumed the shape of a big saucer as ores had been crushed and pounded on it for a very long time. Traces of copper oxide were very prominent on this stone., [9] This latter evidence adds a lot of weight to the former, and it seems very likely that copper ores were worked upon locally to produce implements and other objects, which were not an accidental import to the site.

The evidence from Kallur, though remarkable in so far as it opened a new and significant chapter in the pre-history of the Deccan, did not prove the anteriority of copper and bronze to iron in a stratigraphical sequence and thus left a shadow of doubt behind.

4 *Indian Antiquary* Op. Cit. page 232, pl. III

5 In Kanarese, the local language, the word ' Yammi' means a buffalo and ' gudda ' means a hill. This name buffalo-hill, is self-explanatory, since on a boulder on the hill are carved two buffaloes. These carvings are apparently pre-historic.

6 No analysis of these objects has been done.

7 A lump of iron ore containing mica in enormous proportion was also found But since the digging was not done stratigraphically, it is doubtful if the iron ore actually lay in the same layer as the copper objects. If the soil-deposits are not horizontal-and this is not unusual-objects found at the same depth may not necessarily be contemporaneous. It should further be noted that no iron object as such was recorded.

8 This could have been definitely discovered if the ashes from the furnace were examined and found to contain copqer slags.

9 *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department Nizam's Dominions* Op. Cit., page 27.

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But the 1947 excavations at Brahmagiri in the Chitaldrug district of Mysore State yielded definitive evidence in this direction[10]. Here, in a cutting called Br-21, a copper chisel was obtained from a middle stratum [layer 13] of the Stone Axe Culture[11]. Again a thin bronze rod, probably a pin, was found in association with an urn-burial belonging to an early level of the same culture,[12]. This Stone Axe Culture was characterised by the use of polished stone axes and microliths but *no* iron was associated with it. Iron appeared at a much later stage, namely, with the intrusion of the Megalith Culture, and not before.

There was further corroborative evidence from another cutting, called Br-17. This area was occupied only during the Stone Axe Culture, and a copper rod was obtained from one of its low levels[13] The site did not yield any iron object.

These cuttings, thus, showed in a conclusive manner that both copper and bronze had preceded iron.

The position regarding the use of bronze needs some further clarification, especially in view of Foote's remarks that the discovery of the alloy was not made in India till after the art of iron-smelting had been acquired and iron weapons and tools had largely come into use above.

The analysis of the bronze rod or pin from Brahmagiri [referred to above] showed that as much as 9% of tin was used in the alloy. This leaves no room for doubt that the technique of preparing an alloy for bronze was not known. It will, however, be admitted that, like copper, bronze was also used in a very restricted degree. The Kallur examples,as stated above, have not been analysed. But it is not unlikely that some of them, when analysed, might show similar results.

Now to the date of and period covered by this Chalcolithic Phase of South Indian Pre-history.

At Brahmagiri, the Chalcolithic culture (called as the Brahmagiri Stone Axe Culture in the original report) was represented by a 7-foot thick occupational deposit and was overtaken towards its end by the Megalith culture. The beginning of this latter culture at Brahmagiri can be dated to the 3rd century B. C., and it follows, therefore, that the preceding Chalcolithic culture continued (at least at Brahmagiri) till about the same period, namely, the 3rd century B. C. That being the upper limit for it, it is for any one to guess the period taken during accumulation of the 7-foot deposit[14] of the Stone Axe Culture.

(*10*) *Ancient India*, No. 4, July 1947-Jan. '48' pp. 202. and 267.
(11) Ibid., Section at Br-21, page 205.
[12] The same figure.
(13) Ibid.' page 204.
(14) Only Phase I A has been taken into account, since been no bronze or copperwas obtained from Phase I A.

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The copper objects found in the trial excavations at Kallur (referred to above) yielded no evidence as to their date. But the swords with characteristic 'antennae' hilts certainly call for consideration, because of their similarity with those found at Fatehgarh. The date of the latter is guessed to be in the neighbourhood of 1000 B. C. (there is no definite evidence to go by)[16] and if this dating is somewhere near precision the southerly imports at Kallur may be placed broadly in the first quarter of the 1st millennium B C.

In passing, reference may also be made to a terracotta cylinder seal from Maski.[17] It was just a surface-find, and, as such, has no stratigraphical value. However, its general resemblance with the Babylonion seals seems to suggest a chalcolithic context. May be, it was associated with some chalcolithic phase of South Indian pre-history. But, one swallow does not make a summer, and much cannot be said on the basis of a single find of this kind in South India.

From the foregoing discussion it would now be clear that towards the later part of the Neolithic age in South India there was a phase when copper and bronze implements were used alongside polished stone axes and microlithics. These metal (copper and bronze) implements were neither produced on a very large scale, nor did they replace their counterparts in the stone, which they only supplemented. There was not an exclusively copper or bronze age in South India but *a stage has to be recognized in South Indian pre-history when bronze and copper had begun to be used but iron was still unknown.* Within broad limits, this chalcolithic phase can be placed in the first three qnarters of the 1st millennium B. C.

The evidence discussed above is significant and definitive, but to get a more comprehensive picture, further evidence must be awaited, which scientific excavation at a few other late Neolithic-microlith sites of the type of Brahmagiri is likely to yield.

15 This point has been discussed in *Ancient India* No. 4, P. 201, foot note No. 1.

16 Piggott. in *Antiquity*, Vol. XVIII, No, 72, Dec. 1944, PP. 173. ff.

17 *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Nizam's Dominions*, for 1936-37, (Calcutta, 1939), p. 15 and pl. XIII-A.

18 I have not made a detailed comparison of the Maski seal with those found in the Middle East, but one similarity may be pointed out here, namely, the representation of he headgear by means of indentations. Cf. W. H. Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (Washington, 1910), Nos. 574, 709, 738, 761, and 901.

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THE PREDECESSORS OF THE GUPTAS IN MAGADHA.

Jagannath

The limits of the empire as given in the Puranas refer in all probability to the time of Chandragupta I after his marriage with the Licchavi princess Kumaradevi had brought additional territory. It is highly doubtful whether Gupta and Ghatotkaca had jurisdiction over Magadha. It is therefore an interesting problem for investigation as to who possessed Magadha before the Guptas and how did they get it.

We know from the Puranas that the Kanvas held Magadha up to 28 B. C. when it passed into the hands of the Andhras. The Puranas assign a period of 460 years to the Andhra dynasty and according to the scheme of ancient Indian chronology generally accepted at present the Andhra dynasty came to an end in 228 A. D. However, there is little independent evidence to prove that the Andhra rule in Magadha continued up to that date. There is however one interesting piece of information supplied by the archaeological research. Amongst the seals discovered at Vaisati[1] (modern Basarh) there is one of Mahadevi Prabhudama, daughter of Mahakstrapa Svami Rudrasimha and sister of Mahaksatrapa Rudrasena. Mahaksatrapa Svami Rudrasimha ruled from 180 to 196 and his son Rudrasena from c 200 to 220 A. D. The seal therefore belongs to the first quarter of the third century A. D. and it shows that Magadha was in the possession of a dynasty which had matrimonial alliance with the Western Ksatrapas. Unfortunately the name of Prabhudama's husband is not mentioned, otherwise we would have definitely known who was ruling over Magadha in the beginning of the third century A. D. However, in view of the fact that we know of another matrimonial alliance between the Western Ksatrapas and the Andhras as mentioned in the Girnar inscription of Rudradamana, we may infer that the husband of Prabhudama was also an Andhra king. It would mean that upto 220 A. D. Magadha was held by the Andhra dynasty. But the rule of the Andhra came to an end in 228 A. D. Who succeeded them in Magadha ?

The late Prof. R. D. Bannerji believed that 'in the opening decade of the fourth century A. D. Magadha was ruled by a Scythian Satrap'. But apart from vague Chinese traditions there is no evidence of the Kusana occupation of Magadha. The mere existence of the coins of the late great Kusanas at Patna and Gaya is no proof of their political supremacy over these regions, for coins travel far and wide.

The late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal tried to prove that the predecessors of the Guptas in Magadha were the Varman kings mentioned in the play

1 Age of the Imperial Guptas, p 2.

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Kaumudimahotsava [2] The same view was expressed by Edward Pires.[3] But it has been conclusively shown that the events marked in the play Kaumudimahotsava have no bearing whatsoever on early Gupta history.[4]

The theory of Dr. Jayaswal has been revived by Mr. P. L. Gupta, who argues that Kalyanavarma and Sundaravarma mentioned in the play Kaumudimahotsava were the last two members of the Andhra family; and they were overthrown by Chandragupta.[5] Mr. P. L. Gupta has also referred to the so-called Purana text, the *Kaliyugarajavrittanta* of which no trace is to be found except in T. Narayan Sastri's *Age of Sankara*, and Krishnamachari's History of Classical Sanskrit Literature. I have shown elsewhere that this much advertised Purana is a recent forgery and no importance can be attached to the information contained in it.[6] But even if for the sake of argument we may admit that such a Purana text ever existed, we shall find many discrepancies between the statements of the play Kaumudimahotsava and the fragment Kaliyugarajavrittanta. According to the latter text, Chandragupta had married a Licchavi princess whose sister was the queen of the Andhra monarch Candrasri. Thus the Lichhavis evidently were on friendly terms with the Andhras. But in the play Kaumudimahotsava, we find the Lichhavis are described as the enemies of the Magadha dynasty of Sundaravarman and were detested by the latter. Secondly, according to the Purana text the Andhra monarch Candrasri is said to have been secretly put to death by Chandragupta who then became the regent of the murdered king's son Puloma. After a period of seven years Puloma was also put to death by Chandragupta. Now, there is absolutely no parallel to this in the play, where Sundaravarma was killed in the battle field, and his son Kalyanavarma was conveyed to a place of safety by the faithful minister Mantragupta, who later on succeeded in restoring his master's son to the throne. Here there is absolutely no mention of Chandragupta's regency. In the face of these wide divergences one fails to see how Sundaravarma and Kalyanavarma can be identified with the Andhra monarchs Candrasri and Puloma.[7]

Mr. P. L. Gupta further thinks that Kalyanavarma has been referred to in the play as *Karniputra* which is an abbreviation of Satakarni

2. *History of India*, 150—350 A. D.
3. *The Mankharis*
4. C.f. Jagan Nath, *Thomas Festschrift*; K. C. Chatterji, *IHQ* Volume XIV, page 582; D. C. Sircar, *JAHRS*, Volume VI, page 139.
5. I. C, XI, page 137 H.
6. JBRS, 1945.
7. मगधकुलवैरिभिः म्लेच्छैः लिच्छविभिः।

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putra. But we know that the usual abbreviated form of Satakarni is *Sata* and not *Karni*. The author of the play would never have thought of such an ambiguous term for in Sanskrit literature karniputra is the propunder of the art of theft. In the sentence quoted by Mr. Gupta karniputra is obviously a scribal error for karnipatra, i.e., the leaves of the karnikara of which the triumphal arches had been made.

That Sundaravarma and Kalyanavarma were not members of the Andhra dynasty is indicated by their name endings. Not a single ruler in the long list of Andhra monarchs has a name ending in *Varman*. Moreover the family of Sundaravarma and Kalyanavarma of the play has been repeatedly described in the play by the simple designation of Magadha dynasty, as will be clear from the following remarks.

(a) स एव मगधकुलालङ्कारो कुमार भवेत् ।
(b) मगधकुलवैरिभिः म्लेच्छैः लिच्छविभिः ।

The problem, therefore, as to who preceded the Guptas in Magadha still remains unsolved. The importance that has been given to the Lichhavi alliance in the Gupta inscriptions, and the fact that their name is engraved on the coinage along with that of the first Gupta emperor and empress unmistakably show that the Lichhavis made a substantial contribution towards the establishment of the Gupta empire. The marriage of Chandragupta I with the Licchavi princess Kumaradevi brought undoubtedly the cesion of territories. It is very likely that these territories included Magadha. According to a Nepal inscription, the Licchavis figure in Patliputra. How and when they had established their sway in Magadha, after the fall of the Andhras, remains as yet unknown.

A NEW INSCRIBED IMAGE OF MAITREYA FROM MATHURA.

K. D. Bajpai.

Recently a new image of Bodhisattva Maitreya has been acquired for the Mathura Museum. It is made of the well-known red sand stone of Mathura and measures 1'-10"x1'. The image was lying in a private house in Dig Darwaza, about a mile north-west of the Museum. Its right hand, which was raised in the *abhayamudra*, has been partly broken. The belly has been cut around recently as the chisel marks are quite fresh. The owner of the image confessed that it was deliberately done in the hope of getting jewels from the belly of the god !

Maitreya here is seated in *paryankasana* holding the nectar-flask (*amrita-ghata*) in his left hand. He wears a dhoti, wristlets and conspicuous round ear-lobes. His hair is arranged in simple scallopped fashion, usually found in the heads of Mathura Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the Kushana period. On the left shoulder of the image traces of a *yajnopavita* are visible. This is in fact a later addition to make the image

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appear like that of a Vaishnava saint. We know of another Maitreya image from Mathura (Mus. No. 1348), which was similarly manipulated with the same motif and not only a *yajnopavita* but also vaishnava *tilaka* and a necklace (*kanthi*) were added to it. In the present Maitreya image there is also an indication of a third eye between the eye brows.

The right hand portion of the pedestal is partly broken. Probably it was made so in order to fix the image conveniently into some structure.

On the pedestal of the image there was a Brahmi inscription in Kushana characters. There were five lines in all, of which the uppe three lines have been almost completely effaced due to the peeling off of the stone. Unfortunately the remaining two lines also are not in a good state of preservation. My reading is as given below :—

Line 4 हनोमेत्रष गोत्रस सचसिव पुत्रो म

Line 5 त्रे[य] प्रतिमा ।

[i. e., An image of Maitreya ... . by son of Sachasiva (Satyasiva) of..... .....Gotra]

No inscribed image of Maitreya was so far known in Mathura art. Another peculiarity of the present statue is in its posture. The two well-known images of Maitreya in the Mathura Museum (No. A. 68 and 1348) are in standing posture with the right hand in the *abhayamudra* and the left holding a flask. The present image, therefore, offers a new variety. Its worksmanship also is superb and places it among the best figures of Bodhisattvas carved in the Mathura art of the Kushan period.

"TELIN" OR MAHISAMARDDINI FROM BESNAGAR

D. R. Patil.

Long ago Vincent Smith[1] referred to a colossal statue 7 feet high locally known as Telin or oilwoman which then lay within the walls of Besnagar, the site of the ancient city of Vidisa. The statue was already described by Cunningham[2] in his Reports but Smith felt some doubt

1. Smith HISTORY OF FINE ARTS IN INDIA & CEYLON, Ist Edi. 1911 page 64

2. Vol. X p. 39 ff. His description runs as follows.—" At a spot marked G in the plan, there is a colossal female statue, which the people call Telin or " the oilman's wife", because she is believed to be holoing a vessl which looks something like an oil measure; but the name clearly refers to the heroine of the legend which I have previovsly related about the oilman's wife who was carried upto heaven by holoing on to the wheel of Vishnu's chariot. The statue is 7 ft. high. on the pedestal are two lions seated back to back, with a buffalo's head between them. On the woman's left there is a male figure only half of her height, who is stabbing the lion below with a dagger. A similar figure on her right has been broken off above the knees. The woman's left arm is gone but the left hand still rests on her left hip. The right hand is raised to the level of the shoulder. Bat, as well as I could make out from the mutilated state of this part of the figure, there are certainly two right arms, and perhaps three. The head and neck are covered with ornamenfs, but the only dress is a petty coat reaching down to the ankles and fitting rather closely to the figure.

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about the description and since it was not re-examined and photographed he left discussing it further. It is proposed in this short article to fill in this want though after a very long time.

The statue is now exhibited in the Gwalior Archaeological Museum and is there labelled as Astabhuja (eight armed) Durga. Together with the pedestal it measures 9 feet in height.[3] It is partly mutilated as all her left hands are lost except a lower part of one of them resting on her left hip. Of the right hands which are raised to the level of the shoulder only three are clearly seen and it appears there were no more. Of these three hands one holds a chakra, the central one a gada and the third one a lotus stalk.[4] There is a " third eye " on her forehead. The figure is shown standing on a pedestal on which are carved a buffalo's head (on which the goddess stands), and a seated lion on both sides facing opposite directions. To her left is a two-armed male figure only half her height stabbing with a dagger in a forceful pose the head of the lion just below him. His face has been totally damaged. In his other hand he probably holds a sword. There was a similar figure also to the right of the goddess, for the lower portion of his body upto the waist is still preserved behind the lion.

As regards their dress and ornaments the figures are much simpler The goddess wears a bodice as the sharp line below her breasts would indicate and a lower garment reaching down to the ankles, fitting rather closely to the body, tied to the waist with a fold hanging down loosely between the legs upto the ground. The only ornaments on her body are a simple jewelled crown, large earlobes, anklets, wristlets and two small necklaces. The male figure to her left wears wristlets, and armlets and of his dress only his lower garment is somewhat indistinctly seen.

As compared with the provisions of the iconographic texts, the above figure shows certain naive features. For instance,[5] the twg lions on the pedestal and the two attendant figures one of them deliverino a dagger blow at the lion are features not to be hinted at in any of the known texts on iconography. Besides, the goddess has six hands. The mannen in which the two lions are here depicted is clearly reminiscent of the Buddhist sculptures with a *chakra* in the centre and the two lions on the sides. Instead of the Buddhist symbol, the chakra, we have here the buffalo head in the centre, the symbol of that renowned Hind

3. According to Cunningham height is 7 for he does not seem to have included the pedestal in his measurement.
4. Thus the figure has six, not eight hands.
5. Gopinath Rao, HINDU ICONOGNAPHY Vol. I Pt. II pp 345ff

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deity. On the artistic side the figure is interesting partly because of its colossal size and partly because it is carved in the round. It can thus to a certain extent be linked with the free standing statues of the Mauryan and Sunga times. It may here be mentioned that the two statues of this kind are known to have been found at the site from which the present figure also comes.[6]

It will be interesting and instructive to compare the present figure with the earliest known representations of the goddess found elsewhere in India. The earliest known representations of Mahisamarddini, belongs to the Gupta period and is found at Bhumara in Central India and the other from Udaygiri in Gwalior State.

At Bhumara the goddess is carved in a medallion killing the buffalo demon in its animal form. She has four arms and is accompanied by one attendant, the lion being absent. The Udaygiri figure is 12 armed killing the demon in its animal form. The goddess is not accompanied by any attendant nor by her known vehicle the lion In the sculptures of the goddess of the 7th century and onwards the iconography of the deity appears more developed and complicated as is evident at Badami[9] and Mahabalipuram.[10] At Mahabalipuram the demon takes the animal-human form. It will be noted that in all these representations, the act of killing the demon is depicted while the Besnagar figure shows only the symbolism of that action on the pedestal, in the form of the buffalo head.

In the midst of all the representations of the goddess known to us Besnagar figure stands estranged mainly because of (1) the peculiar carving of its pedestal with two lions, (2) its colossal size and (3) her two attendants and six hands. There is reason to believe that our figure is not Gupta in its conception and artistic execution nor is it post-Gupta. It has some genetic relation with the early art of the free standing statues from Mathura, Patna and Vidisa and it is probably this fact which led Cunningham to take it to be a representation of the oilman's wife of the legend referred to by him. Nowhere does he mention it to be the figure of the Brahmanical goddess Durga inspite

6. That is the female statue from Besnagar now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. See Memoris of the Arch. Sury. of India No. 30 p.p 45-6 for description. A similar statue, in fragment was discovered a few years back at Bhilsa for which see Hindi Vikrama Volume (Gwalior) p.

7. Memoirs of the Arch. Surv. of India, No. 16. p. 13, pl. XIV.

8. D.N. Patil Monuments of the Udaygiri Hill, pp. 35-6.

9. Cf. Memoirs of the Arch. Surv. of India, No. 25. pp. 21-2. Pl. 11

10. See Memoirs of the Arch. Surv. of India, No. 33, p. 35 ff pl. XXV.

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of the fact that he noticed the buffalo-head on the pedestal so well known to have been associated with that goddess. It is significant that even the local belief would not regard it to be the goddess Durga. Cunningham himself did not try to assign any date to the figure though from his description of it Smith was led to believe that it belonged to the same age to which the Besnagar statue, now in the Indian Museum, belonged.

How the present statue came to be associated with the legend quoted by Cunningham[11] is also obscure. There is nothing in the description to justify the local belief that it is the oilman's wife of that legend. Cunningham says that "she is believed to be holding which looks something like an oil measure." There is no trace of the vessel or oil measure on the existing statue, nor do the lost portions seem to have contained it. The contents of the legend connect the figure with the desertion of the city which certainly took place at about the time of the Guptas and the reference in it to the epic king Rukmangada is certainly out of place thus proving its flaked character. At any rate the identification by the local people of this figure with the oilman's wife is fanciful for there is nothing of the oilwoman about her, but that they had forgotten her to be their Durga is likewise strange. The fact would seem to be this. The figure originally represented the goddess Durga and was, for reasons mentioned, carved in the early centuries of the Christian era. Its presentation smacked of the Buddhistic influence such as is shown by the carving on its pedestal. Thus its iconographic characteristics would not seem true to the prescribed texts according to the orthodox opinion, which on the basis of a popular legend, already current, connected it, rather conveniently, with the oilman's wife prominently figuring on it. We do not know whether the statue was worshipped as such though it is likely it was. Cunningham, however, does not state whether it was so when he saw it.

11. Op *Cit* pp. 37-8. The legend runs and follow.—One day the Vimana, or chariot of Vishnu, was stopped by a thorn bush, and it was announced that this could be removed only by a person who had fasted on the *Ekadasi* festival It happened that a *telin* (or oilman's wife), who had quarelled with her husband and left her house without eating was the first to arrive. She at once removed the thorn bush and as the *Viman* began to ascend, she asked from Vishnu the favour of being taken to the *Surglok* (*Swargah* along with him. Her request was granted, and, taking hold, of a wheel, she began to ascend at once. Just then Raja Rukman, followed by all his subjects, happened to arrive, when he also laid hold of the Viman, and his subjects, following his example, laid hold of different parts of the vehicle, and of one another, and the whole were taken up to heaven. The city being thus deserted, was turned upside down, and has since remained a heap of ruins.

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As regards the date of the image certain points have already been noted above. It must also be mentioned here that though it is, colossal in size it is not entirely a free standing statue in the sense in which the statues of this class are known. Further these statues which are usually assigned to represent Yaksas or Yaksasinis have that archaic stiffness and massiveness of form which is not at all observed on the present figure. The former do not seem to have been meant for spiritual ends or devotion while the half closed eyes and the pose of the latter definitely suggest that it was an object of worship or devotion. Viewed from these standards the figure is certainly much later though at the same time it may have belonged to the same tradition of carving of colossal images in the round. As stated above the figure is not to be compared iconographically with the few available Gupta, or later Gupta representations of the deity. The carving of the pedestal indicates that the image was executed in the midst of a flourishing Buddhist art when artists undertaking similar Brahmanical images were first making their appearance and naturally betrayed the influence of the Buddhist ideas and motifs so common in their time.

A similar tendency has been observed in Udaygiri[12] and Mathura[13] sculptures of the Ekamukha linga where in their execution the figures appear mostly Buddhistic and have little to compare with the later Brahmanical figures of the same deity. Such a state of things existed in Central India in the early centuries of the Christian era when the art of the same region came under the influence of the flourishing Buddhist art of Mathura, as is evidenced by the remains of the period at Sanchi. On all these grounds I am inclined to take this image to belong to about the second or third century A. D.

The figure is thus the earliest representation of the goddess so far known and would bear greatly upon the antiquity of the Sakta worship. We have good evidence that the worship of the goddess was fairly common in the days of the Guptas[14] and we have some sculptures of the deity found in Bhumara and Udaygari. It is therefore quite likely that the origin of this worship might go back to a few centuries and from that point of view this assignment of the present figure to the 2nd or 3rd century A. D. is quite probable.

(12) Patil, *op cit*, pp 27-8

(13) Coomarswarmy, *History of Indian Indonesian Art*. pp XVIII No. 68.

(14) See *A New History of the Indin People* published by the Bharatiya Itihas Parishad) Vol VI, pp 374-462

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SOME UNPUBLISHED ANCIENT INDIAN TERRACOTTAS PRESERVED IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

C. C. DAS GUPTA.

It is well-known that ancient Indian terracottas have been found in considerable number from various sites and preserved in different museums of India, Europe and America.[1] These figurines whose age extends from the prehistoric to the latest ages of ancient India help us to form our ideas regarding the following important points. First, they, unlike any other kind of Indian plastic art, furnish us with the valuable evidence for proving the evolution of ancient Indian sculpture from prehistoric to the latest ages of ancient India. Secondly, they supply us with the valuable information regarding the problem of the intrusion of the foreign element into early Indian sculpture. Thirdly, they furnish us with some valuable data regarding the religious and secular aspects of life. Thus it is quite clear that the study of ancient Indian terracottas is one of the most important topics in the field of ancient Indian plastic art.

During my stay in England from 1944 to 1946 I went to the British Museum in 1946 and studied unpublished ancient Indian terracottas preserved in that museum through the kindness of Mr. Basil Gray, Keeper of Department of Oriental Antiquities of the British Museum for which I thank him most. It was through the grace of Mr. Gray that I had secured the photographs of these specimens. The object of this paper is to make a detailed study of them.

So far as these specimens are concerned, it should be noted that no specimen is found in the course of an actual excavation carried out in a specific site. These specimens, therefore, naturally lose much of their importance. They were found in three different ways. First, we have some specimens which were collected by Lt. Col. Sir Harold Arthur Deane, K. C. S. I., Commissioner of the N. W. F. Province and presented to the British Museum. According to the information supplied to me by Mr. Gray they were found in the N. W. F. Province. Mr. Gray did not supply me with any information regarding the exact find-spot of these specimens, viz.,

	1939	1939	1939
Nos.	1–19	1–19	1–19. Secondly, we have a few other specimens
	2	3	4
	1945	1945	1945
Nos.	4–17	4–17	4–17 which were from the Chisholm collection which
	23	22	24

was mainly made at Attock in West Punjab.

1 Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, Vol. IV, pp. 67 120, 938; Ibid, vol. X, pp. 61-79, 1944

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When these specimens were not found in course of actual excavation, recourse is to be taken to the evolution of style and comparison with specimens whose dates are known from other sources for ascertaining their age.

POST-INDUS VALLEY PRE-MAURYA

1. A female figure whose left arm and lowermost point of the joined legs are lost. The eyes are petal-shaped bifurcated in the middle indicating the upper and lower lids ; the nose is coarsely indicated ; the mouth is indicated giving a clear view of the upper and lower lips ; the ears are not shown. The remaining arm is not naturalistically treated but ends in a gradually tapering condition near the elbow. The breasts which are small are separately made and then affixed to the body not in the right place but a little higher. The legs are joined together and taper almost to a point. It wears two flat leaf-like ear-ornaments and five close-fitting necklaces indicated by closely incised dots. It probably wears a high and conical head-dress with two small additions on two sides fastened by a wide band and decorated with two leaf-like ornaments. There are two lines going cross-wise over the chest and the upper abdomen. Besides another line is marked a little below the waist-line. 1939 1-19 North Western Frontier Province. 6" length. Reddish. 2

(Fig. 1)

2. A female figurine whose lower body from a little below the thigh is lost. The eyes are petal-shaped bifurcated in the middle indicating the upper and lower lids ; the eye-brows are indicated by the semi-circular incision which is very clear over the left eye but not over the right eye ; the mouth is effaced ; the ears are not shown. The arms are not naturalistically treated but end in a gradually tapering condition near the elbow. It has got one breast which is separately made and then affixed to it. It is not known why the other breast was not made or whether that had fallen off. There is no doubt that both its legs were modelled as joined together and tapered almost to a point. It wears two flat, leaf-like ear-ornaments and two heavy necklaces indicated by lozenge-shaped clay. It probably wears a tiara indicated by leaf-like pellets of clay. There are some dots, around the upper portion of the forehead, which probably indicate some ornament or the end of the hair. There is a line marked over the waist-line. Below it there is a triangle made by two slanting lines and some portion of the above-mentioned line over the waist-line which indicates the pubic region. 1939 1-19 North Western Frontier Province. 3½" length. Red. (Fig. 2) 3

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3. A Female figurine whose lower body from a little below the thigh is lost. The eyes are petal-shaped bifurcated in the middle indicative of the upper and lower lids ; the eye-brows are indicated by the semi-circular incision ; the nose is primitively indicated ; the mouth is effaced ; the ears are not shown. The arms are not naturalistically treated but end in a gradually tapering condition near the elbow. It has one breast which is probably separately made and then affixed to it. It is not known why the other breast was not made or whether that had fallen off. It is quite possible that both its legs were modelled as joined together and tapered almost to a point. It wears the lozenge-shaped earrings and two dog-collared necklaces. It wears an excellent head-dress having a brooch in the centre. $\frac{1939}{1-39/4}$ North Western Frontie Province. 3" length. Red. (Fig. 3)

4. A female figurine whose right arm from elbow is lost. Its body up to the neck is naturalistically modelled and the remaining body is crudely hand-modelled. The eyes, eye-brows, nose and mouth are naturalistically modelled. The ears are also naturalistically modelled There are three important features of the remaining part of the body. The first characteristic is that the legs are not made at all. Instead of the legs the whole body from the waist downwards is made like a round stand. The second characteristic is that the arms are made like parabolic curves without any indication of the elbow, the wrist and the fingers. The third characteristic is that the breasts are separately made and then attached to the body not actually in the proper place. There is possibly the idea of indicating the hair on the head. $\frac{1942}{2\text{-}14/10}$ Kosam. 7" length. Reddish (fig. 4).

5. A male figurine whose left arm, right arm from the elbow downwards and lower body from a little below the chest are lost. Its face is indistinct. It has a horn-like ornament attached to the right side of the head. $\frac{1942}{47}$ Kosam. 2" length. Red. (fig. 5)

6. A female figurine whose arms and lower body from a little below the chest are lost. The diamond-shaped eyes, nose and mouth are naturalistically modelled; the ears are not shown. The breasts are shown as having spontaneous development out of the flesh of the body and the right breast is mutilated. It wears a tight collar-band, having circlets to which leaf-like things are attached, set in the *applique* manner. It wears another flowing necklace, having two sets of dots and going

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round the breasts, set in the *applique* manner. 1942 2-14 Kosam. 3" length. 16 Slate-coloured. (fig. 6)

It is apparent from the above description that some of these specimens are reported to have been found in the North Western Frontier Province (figs. 1, 2 & 3) and some at Kosam. (figs. 4,5 & 6). So far as the North Western Frontier Province specimens are concerned, we have similar specimens mentioned in a number of articles by Gordon[1] and Corbiau[2] and so far as the Kosam specimens are concerned, we have found the mention of a number of finds of terracottas at Kosam.[3]

If we consider the style of these figurines, we should conclude that they belong to the same group for the following reasons and consequently to the same age. Figs. 1, 2 and 3 belong to the same group for the following reasons and consequently to the same age. First, these three specimens are all found in the North Western Frontier Province. Secondly, the treatment of the whole body from the neck downwards as in the cases of Figs. 1 and 2 and probably of Fig. 3 is of the same texture. Thirdly, in all these three figurines we find that the arms end in a gradually tapering manner near the elbow. Fourthly, the treatment of the eyes is similar in all these figurines. There is no doubt that Figs. 4, 5 and 6 are also to be referred to this age.

There is no doubt that ancient Indian terracottas may be arranged in a chronological order and the earliest of these terracottas are those which belong to the Indus Valley age. It is well-konwn that the terracotta figurines of the Indus Valley age have the main body hand-modelled and have some constituent part of the body and the decorative

1 Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, vol. XXXIV, pp. 1-30, pls. I & II 1944

2 Journal of the Royal Anthropolgical Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. LXII, pp. 163-71, pls. XIII, XIV, 1932; Man, Vol. XXXIV pp. 55-58, 1934; Iraq, Vol. V, pp. 85-88, pls. VI-IX, 1938; Man, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 198-99, 1937.

3 Man, vol. XXXV, p 144/ 1935; Bulletin des Musees Royoux d'Art et d'-Histoire, mars-avril, pp, i-3, 1936; Man, vol, XXXVI, pp. 150-52, 1937; Iraq, vol. IV, pp. 1-10, pls. II, 2-5, III 1-3, 5-7, IV 1 4, 8, 9, 1939;

4 Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report for 1913 14 pp 262 64 pl LXX c f g 1917 ; K B Pathak Commemoration Volume pp 248 61 14 pls 1934 ; Jahrbuch fur Prahistorische und Ethnographische Kunst pp 64 76 figs 1 51 1928 ; Indian Arts and Letters vol VIII p 122 fig 10 1934 ; Catalogue and hand book of the Archaeological collections in the Indian Museum By J Anderson p II pp 60 95 101 112 248 51 283 87 295 98 310 1883

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apparels set in the *applique* manner.[4] There is probably no doubt that these figurines stand between the Indus Valley age on the one hand and the Maurya age on the other. We ascribe Fig. 5 to this age because there is some sort of similarity between this figurine and the figurines of the Indus Valley age and are also some points of dissimilarity which lead us to ascribe them to the post-Indus Valley pre-Maurya age. We ascribe Fig. 6 to this age because though in this figurine we find the breasts, nose mouth and eyes naturalistically modelled, yet we find the collar band and the flowing necklace, as in the case of the Indus Valley figurines, attached in the *applique* manner. We ascribe Fig. 4 also to this age because though the eyes, eye-brows, nose, mouth and ears are naturalistically modelled,yet there are two characteristics which connect this figurine with the Indus Valley figurines and another characteristic which connects this figurine with the prehistoric terracotta figurines of South India.[5] The two characteristics which connect this figurine with the Indus Valley figurines are the modelling of the arms like parabolic curves without any indication of the elbow, the wrist and the fingers and the modelling of the breasts separately and then attaching it to the body but not actually in the proper place. The third characteristic which connects this figurine with the prehistoric terracotta figurines of South India is the modelling of the whole body from the waist downwards in the shape of a round stand. There is, therefore, possibly no doubt that this figurine should be ascribed to the post-Indus Valley pre-Maurya age.

Regarding Figs. 1, 2, and 3 there is no doubt, as we have already shown, that they belong to the same group and consequently to the same age. There is a great deal of controversy regarding the dating of these figurines. It was Coomraswamy who, for the first time, gave an early dating to a specimen of this kind preserved in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.[6] Against this view Codrington opined that some specimens which had been ascribed to the post-Indus Valley pre-Maurya age were much later in date.[7] In support of the theory of Codrington Gordon opined that some terracottas with primitive characteristics were to be relegated to a much later date.[8] Against this view of Codrington Corbiau

4. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal Letters vol IV pp 67-120 1938 ; Ibid vol V pp 61 79 1944

5. Journal of the Department of Leters, Calcutta University, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 1-30, pls. I & II, 1944.

6. Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts. Boston Vol XXV, pp. 90-96, fig 1, 1927; Jahrbuch fur Prahistorische und Ethnographische Kunst, pp. 64-76 fig. 1928.

7. Indian Antiquary, Vol LX, pp 141-45, pl', 1931

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upheld the view of Coomaraswamy in a number of papers.[8-9] Gordon went so far as to opine that the gap between the Indus Valley and Maurya ages could not be bridged by the evidence of certain early Indian terracottas and that some of the terracottas ascribed to an age between the Indus Valley and Maurya ages by Marshall and Coomraswamy were to be relegated to a later age on the consideration of archaeological stratification and style.[10] This view was challenged by the present author in a paper.[11] The following are the points for which he accepts the view of Coomaraswamy and Corbiau and rejects the view of Codrington and Gordon. First, it seems that Gordon has a bias and starts a theory on the assumption that there was no age between the Indus Valley and Maurya ages. If we accept the dating of the Indus Valley and Maurya ages as correct, we naturally find an age intervening between them. Even from the stand-point of the literary evidence there is no doubt that the Indian civilization goes to a much earlier period than the Maurya age. It is a matter of profound pity and regret that no serious attempt has been made to utilise the rich mine of historical information which is contained in the literary works of the period before the Maurya period. It is essential that a start should be immediately made in this direction. It is quite likely that many things which were made in this period perished leaving practically no trace behind as most of them were made in perishable materials. Secondly, Corbiau rightly showed that even from the stand-point of archaeological stratification some of the figurines which Gordon ascribed to a later date should be ascribed to an earlier date.[12] Thirdly, Corbiau rightly opined that she had found the similarity between the terracotta figurines found at Sari Dheri and two other terracotta figurines-one found at Tell Ahmar in Mesopotamia dated c. 3000 B.C. and the other belonging to the Tripolje civilisation of eneolithic Ukraine[13] and that figurines which she ascribed to the 3rd-4th millennium B.C. had

8 Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain & Ireland, Vol LXII, pp 163-71, pls XII, XIV, 1932 ; Man, Vol XXXIV, pp. 55-58, 1934; Ibid, Vol XXXV, p 144, 1935; Iraq, Vol V, pp 85-88, pls VI IX, 1938; Man. Vol XXXVII, pp 198-99, 1937; Iraq, Vol VII, pp 1-12, pII, 1940 Journal or the Royal Assiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, Vol, VI pp 61-72, pls 4 & 5, 1940

9 Man, Vol XXXV, p 114, 1935 ; Bulletin de Mussees Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, mars-avril, pp 1-3, 1936 ; Man Vol XXXVII pp 150 52 1937 ; Iraq Vol IV pp 1 4 pls II 2 5III 1 3 , 5-7, IV, 1-4, 8, 9, 1939

10 Man, Vol XXXV, pp 117-18, 1935

11 Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol XII, pp 138-41, 1936

12 Iraq, Vol IV, ppi 1-10, pls II 2-5, III 1-3, 5-7, IV 1-4, 8, 9, 1939

13 Man, Vol XXXV, p 144, 1935

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analogies with the Sumerian (Jemdet Nasr), Aegean (ancient Minoan) and Russian Turkestan (Annau III) antiquities.[14]

If we accept the view of Coomaraswamy and Corbiau, then we should conclude that these figurines are to be ascribed to the post-Indus Valley pre-Maurya age.

THE GENESIS OF THE MATRIARCHAL SYSTEM IN KERALA.

Elamkulam P.N Kunjan Pillai,

Some writers like MacLenan and Morgan have expressed the view that the human race originally followed the matriarchal system of inheritance and later on with the growth of civilization adopted the patriarchal system.[1] They hold that matriarchy is a stage in the evolution of all human societies. But according to Sir Henry Maine,[2] succession in early society was traced through the sons and the descent through the sister's children came to be adopted in certain countries owing to special reasons of environment. He is also of opinion that the matriarchal system which came to be adopted under certain peculiar circumstances, is of temporary duration and is liable to be changed subsequently. This paper purports to show that the matriarchal system was unknown to Kerala till the 11th century and that it might possibly be an after-effect of the formation of the suicide squads.[3]

An example of how people under special circumstances would discard the Makkattayam[4] system and embrace Marumakkattayam is furnished by the Punnar family, a branch of the Pandya Dynasty which after its establishment in Kerala continued the former system for a long time until finally it adopted the latter system of inheritance in the 17th century. Similarly[5] the Imperial Ceras of the Sangam period were followers of Makkattayam and the Travancore Royal House which claims its descent from the Ceras is following the Marumakkattaym system.

14 Bulletin des Musees Royaux d'Arts et d'Histoire, mars-avril, pp 1-3, 1936; Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, pp 1-4, pls I & II, 1944

1 See Primitive Marriage

2 Early Law and Custom, p 202. See also History of Human Marriage by Westermarck and Evolution of Marriage by Laterneau

3 See the paper on 'The Suicide Squads of Ancient Kerala' contributed to the Bombay Session of the Indian History Congress by the present writer

4 Malayalam words for patriarchal and matriarchal systems

5 See Kerala History by K P Padmanabha Menon Vol II, pp 86—91

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Kulasekhara Alwar who ruled over Kerala sometime before the commencement of the Malabar Era as well as the powerful Kulasekhara Perumals who succeeded him on the throne, were followers of Makkattayam. This fact is borne out by the commentary[6] on Laghubhaskariya, a work of Sankaranarayana who adorned the court of Sthanu Ravi Varma Kulasekhara of the ninth century.

The translation from Makkattayam to Marumakkattayam is clearly visible in the Musaka Vamsa, a Sanskrit Kavya dealing with the history of the Kolattunad Royal family. The geneology of the Kolattiris is traced from father to son till the 11th century and then for the last two or three kings through the sisters's son.[7]

Thus the Kulasekharas and the Kolattiris were following Makkattayam till about the 10th century. It is very difficult to get direct evidence regarding the law of inheritance of the common man. The records hitherto available mostly refer to kings and chieftains, and no trace of Marumakkattayam is discernible from them before the 11th century. On the contrary, many of the records prove that Makkattayam was the prevailing law.

Intermarriages among the royal dynasties of Pandya, Cera and Cola were common during the early centuries of the Malabar Era. If the law of inheritance in Kerala had been different from that of the others, these marriages would have led to various conflicts. Vanavan Mahadevi, the wife of the Pandya King Parantaka Vira Narayana, was a member of the Cera Dynasty. Her son, Rajasimha, was not heir to any part of the Cera Kingdom, but inherited only the crown of the Pandyas.[8] If the Cera Kings had then followed the Marumakkattayam system, the result would have been that Rajasimha would have inherited the Cera crown too. Similarly, Arinjaya, son of the Cola King Parantaka I by his Kerala queen, does not inherit the Cera Empire.[9]

The daughters of the sovereigns of Kerala were regarded as member of the royal family during the early centuries of the Malabar Era. Kokilanadikal, the wife of Parantaka Cola, is mentioned as the daughter of Paluvettrayar.[10] Kilanadikal, the wife of Vijayaraga, is described

6 See 'the paper on Sthanu Ravi and sih Age' by the author. Proceedings of he Indian History Congress Patna Session

7 T A S Vol 11. pp 87—105 The Musaka Vamsa was written by Atula, a court poet of Srikantha who ruled Kolam in the 12th century His elder brother Valabha led an army to the South with a view to helping the Cera King in his war against the Colas From the inscription of the period, it seems that the war referred to must be one of the last wars of Kulottunga I

8 The Pandyan Kingdom by K A Nilakanta Sastri p 79

9 The Colas by K A N Sastri p 168

10 Anbil plates of Parantaka II and also Tirunamanallur inscription. Ep Ind Vol VII, p 133

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in an inscription at Tirunandikkara as the daughter of Kulasekhara Deva. Tribhuvanadevi, the wife of the Pandya King Sri Vallabhan Maravarman, was the daughter of the Venad King Udaya Martanda Varma who reigned in the 12th century A. D.

Under the Marumakkattayam system the male members adopt as surname (Irattaper) the name of the Karanavan (maternal uncle) and the females the mother's name. On the other hand those who follow Makkattayam use only the name of the father in both cases. The latter pratice obtains throughout India except Kerala. Up to the 13th century the practice in Kerala too was not different. The females used as surname only the name of the father. The inscriptions of the period do not show a single instance of the use of the mother's name. It may be argued that the surname represents the name of the Karanavan and not of the father. But there is no evidence to substantiate this contention. Women under the Marukkattayam system use only the mother's name and never the Karanvan's name. Besides, it is distinctly stated in certain records that it is the father that is referred to. Murukan Centi, the wife of Vikramaditya Varaguna who ruled South Travancore during the latter half of the 1st century M.E., is specifically mentioned as daughter of Tenganattu Kilavan Cattan Murukan.[11]

The wife of Sri Vallabhan Kota is referred to as Adiccan Umayamma.[12] Similarly Iraman Matevi of Munnunadu[13] was the daughter of Kunran Iraman. The daughters of the Venad kings were always mentioned in the above manner. Manikantan Madhavi[14] Iraman Umayamma and others are well known names in the inscriptions of the 12th and 13th centuries.[15]

The males too made use of the father's and never the Karanavan's name as surname. This was the practice even in the 13th century. There is a lithic record dated 393 M.E. in the Kandsyur Temple at Mavelikkara,[16] to the effect that the temple was renovated by Iraman Kotavarma, the ruler of the Odanad, under orders from Iravi Kerala Varma, the Venad King. Whether the first name in Iraman Kotavarma signifies the father's or Karanavan's name is made clear by the Sanskrit portion of the text 'Yaduvara-vrsabho ramajah Kotavarma' which dispels all ambiguity.

11 The Huzur Office Plate of ikramaditya Varaguna TAS Vol I p 18
12 Mamballi Plate of Srivallabhan Kotai TAS Vol IV p 9
13 Tiruvalla Rates TAS Vol II p 202
14 Kilimanur Records TAS Vol V p 80
15 Kadinamkulam Inscription
16 T. A. S. Vol I p 290

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Now let us consider the situation as it developed in the Royal House of the Kulasekharas. They were ruling over Kerala till 1100 A.D with their capital at Mahodayapura which was completely devastated during the Hundred Years' War of the 11th century.[17] Thereupon, the capital was moved to Quilon, the head-quarters of the old district called Venad.[18] The Makkattayam system of the early Ceras was continued uninterrupted till the reign of Jayasimha, the father of Sangramadhira Ravivarma whose inscriptions are found at Kanchipuram, Srirangam and Tiruvadi. After Jayasimha, there appears to have arisen a dispute for the throne between his sons and nephews. Jayasimha's son, Ravivarma, got the upper hand of the situation and ruled triumphantly for a few years. But after that, Jayasimha's nephew Udaya Martanda Varma Vira Pandya became the king of Venad; and the here commenced the system of Marumakkattayam. Hence the tracing of the ancestry of all later kings from Jayasimha.

The hypothesis that Jayasimha was a Koiltampuran and Umadevi a Princess of Venad would be contrary to the records. The inscriptions of the Sangramadhira clearly state that his father Jayasimha was a powerful king [19] who ruled over Kerala.

Udaya Martanda Varma Vira Pandya succeeeded Sangramadhira to the Venad throne in the year 1312 and we have inscriptions of Sangramadhira in the very same year. It is significent that all the later rulers of Venad omit to mention as their ancestor the name of Sangramadhira, great and powerful as he was. They trace their ancestry from Jayasimha for the reason that he was their first Karanavan according to the Marumakkattayam law, while Ravivarma Sangramadhira was the last king in the Makkatayam line of succession.

All the accounts of foreign travellers support the view that Marumakkattayam was not in vogue till the 13th century.[20] If there

17 See the paper contributed by / Prof V Narayana Pillai to the Patna Session of the Indian History Congress

18 See the preface to Beginnings of Travancore History' part I by the present writer

१६ स्वस्ति श्री जयसिंह इत्यभिहित

स्सोमान्वयोत्तंसको

राजासीदिह केरलेषुविषये

नायो बदुस्माश्रृताम्

20 Solyman ... 851 AD
Albiruni ... 870 AD
Benjamin ... 1166 AD
Al Kazwini ... 1270 AD
Marcopolo ... 1298 AD

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was any noticeable peculiarity in the law of inheritance at that time, surely that fact would not normally have escaped their notice. The earliest mention of the Marumakkattayam system is by Friar Jordanus who came to Quilon in 1324 as a Roman Catholic missionary to recover the heretical Nestorians to the true Roman fold. In his work entitled Mirabilia Descripta he gives an interesting account of the country and says: " In this India never do the legitimate sons of the great Kings or Princes or barons (refers to the Nayars) inherit the goods of their parents, but only the sons of their sisters. "

It would thus be evident from the foregoing that Marumakkattyam was an innovation which came into existence after the 11th century. A radical change in the system of inheritance of a people, such as that from Makkattayam to Marumakkattayam, is not an easy thing. Mr. K.P. Padmanabha Menon believes that it was under special compelling circumstances that the people of Kerala embraced the Marumakkattayam succession but he could not point out what really those special circumstances were.

In the 11th century, the Kulasekhara kings were engaged in a life and death struggle to protect Kerala from the invading Colas whose army far outweighed the defenders in number. It seems that during this long war of hundred years the Kulasekharas instituted the Kalari system of military training whereby even women were trained in the art of warfare.[21] To meet a desperate situation, desperate remedies were resorted to ; and thus were formed the suicide squads ; and the Colas were driven out.

The formation of the suicide squads comprising the adult male population of certain communities made it incumbent on the men to cultivate a certain degree of detachment in their marital relation and its consequences. The stringent rules of their new code of martial order permitted no diversion of their interests and activities. The management of the family properties, therefore, came naturally to be vested in the female members. It became necessary for the recruits to the suicide squads who had dedicated their lives at the altar of the country's freedom and decided to spend the best part of their time in the field to forego their rights to property.[22]

It would appear from the records of the latter period that the suicide squads comprised only Nayars. Foreign travellers make no distinction[23] in their reference between the suicide squads and Nayars.

21 See the paper by the writer in the proceedings of the 10th session of the Indian History Congress

22 Castenheda and Montaigne who wrote their accounts by the middle of the 16th century were inclined to think that the Malabar system was devised to maintain the military habits of the people

23 Kerala History Vol I p 510 and Vol III p 230 See also Vol III pp 338—340

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It is but natural that Ksatriyas who were intimately allied and akin to the Nayars[24] followed the social customs, laws and practices as the Nayars. In point of historical fact many of the ruling chiefs were Nayars and this is evidenced by several records. The term Nayar itself is used to denote a ruler in ancient inscriptions.[25] Some Brahmins like the Ammomans of the Payynnur Gramam also might have joined the suicide army and they too embraced Marumakkattayam. Ilavas, Ambalavasis and others followed the majority community and adopted the new system to a certain extent. They never followed Marumakkattayam exclusively like the Ksatriyas and the Nayars.

SCRAPS FROM IKSVAKU EPIGRAPHS.

K. Gopalachari

The numerous Buddhist donative epigraphs of the Iksvaku period (3rd century A. D.) have not only brought to full light a dynasty but also yielded some interesting bits of information. Firstly, they point to a lively cultural contact between the Andhradesa on the one hand and the Dravidian South and the Western Deccan on the other.

Some Nagarjunikonda names are of Dravidian origin. This is an interesting fact considering that in the Bhattiprolu inscription of the third century B. C., only a few Dravidian names like *Banava* and *Kura* appear ; and from Kolhapur we have only Vilivaya Kura = Tamil *Villavan* = archer; and Kura is also a Dravidian word. *Kanda* is a Tamil variation of *Skanda* through its Prakrit form *Khamda. Ehuvula,* the personal name of the third king of the dynasty, spelt also as *Ehuvula* and *Ehuvala* is a combination of the very old Tamil word *Ehu* meaning steel and the Sanskrit *Bal*= strength. Such a name is all the more astonishing as the first two kings have non-Dravidian names, namely *Siri-Camtamula* and *Siri-Virapurisadatta.* A daughter of *Siri-Camtamula* I bears the name *Adavi-Catisiri. Adavi* is Tamil Adavi=forest. One of the relatives of the donor mentioned in ins. F., is *Karumbudhina. Budhina* is a contraction for *Budhinaka* and *Karum* in Tamil means black. The *siri* and *anaka* suffixes to names *Kamdasiri Camtisiri, Bapisiri, Kotisiri, Khamdachali-Kiremmanaka, Khamdavisakhamnaka* and *Khamdasagaramnaka* are western in origin. Ins. B. 5 mentions *dinari-masakas.* Dr. Vogel

24 Ma Huan (A. D. 1949) ; ' The Nayars rank with the King '. In the words of Mr. Logan they were ' the ruling race ' who ought to belong to the Ksatriya caste

25 Tirukkatittanam record TAS Vol V, p 175. It may be pointed out that the words Nayar, Nayan and Nayattiyar make then appearance in records only after 11th century.

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looks upon *dinari* as a current coin among the Iksvakus. *Denarius* is a Roman coin struck by Augustus. Not a single Iksvaku coin has been picked up and the dynasty would seem to have left the country dependent on the Satavahana coins; moreover we have ample evidence of the finds of Roman coins in South India and not a single Western cave inscription or Amaravati inscription speaks of it. The conclusion is irresistible that the term was borrowed from South India.

The invariable honorific prefix of *siri* to Iksvaku names is a direct borrowal from the Satavhana dynasty and as in Satavahana times it is a royal monopoly not open even to the feudatories. The dating of inscription is also in the Satavahana mode of, year, season, fortnight and day.

Iksvaku metronymics throw welcome light on the tangled questions of origin, fewness and *raisond'etre* of Satavahana metronymics. That the Iksvakus borrowed metronymics from the Satavahanas is conclusively proved by identical metronymics (Vasithiputa and Madhariputa) and the total absence of the institution in the eastern Deccan before the advent of the Satavahanas. The Iksvaku records reveal cross-cousin marriages. Siri *Virapurisadatta* married the two daughters of his two aunts *Camtisiri* and *Hammasirinika*. As the Iksvakus borrowed the metronymics from the Satavahanas it is reasonable to infer that the system of cross-cousin marriages was also a borrowal from the same sources, such marriages within a small circle explain the fewness of royal metronymics. The *Mahatalavaras* who were feudratory nobles, married Iksvaku princesses and got metronymics in the wake of matrimony. We are led on to the conclusion that the Iksvakus also must have got them by the same channel. The Satavahanas are matrimonially related to the feudatory Maharathis and Maharathis bear metronymics from the first century B.C. The later Satavahanas from the first century A.D., bear metronymics. Is the conclusion unwarranted that the Maharathis transmitted it to the Satavahanas? That the Iksvaku metronymics had become unlike the Satavahana ones more conventional than an institution for the regulation of marriages is shown by the fact that a Vasithi marries a Vasithiputa, Lastly, while the Satavahana metronymics are unaccompanied by either the dynastic or the paternal name the Iksvaku ones are invariably preceded by the dynastic and sometimes also the paternal names.

The Iksvakus bear the title of *Maharaja* though in some places the Satavahana title of *Rajan* appears. The Salankayanas, Brahatphalayanas and the Pallavas also bear the new title. Here is an illustration of the general rule that the smaller the kingdom the more pompous the title.

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If the Hindu Satavahanas held the scales of justice between the Hindus and the Buddhists and gave grants of land to Buddhist monasteries, scooped out caves for the monks and tolerated the construction of *stupas, viharas* and *caityas*, the Iksvakus more than emulated their masters by allowing the rival religion into the palace. *Siri-Camtamula* and his son *Siri-Virapurisadatta* were Hindus and the former performed many sacrifices. *Camtisiri*, sister of *Siri-Camtamula*, *Adwi-Catisiri*, his daughter, and the wives of *Siri-Virapurisadatla* namely, *Bapisirinika Bhattideva Chathisiri* were allowed to be Buddhists and what is more striking, associate their husbands in the merit of their donations in the Mahayanist mode.

BODHI DHARMA IN CH INA

W. Pachow.

Legends and fables surround the historical figure of Bodhidharma, one of the greatest Indian missionaries and the founder of the Dhyana School in China. Stripping the historical from the supernatural some true facts about this great saint are worth recording.

The date of his arrival in Chin a.

Some Buddhist records[1] of the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. tell us that Bodhidharma reached Canton in the eighth year of Putung (527 A.D.) of the great Buddhist Emperor Wu-ti of Liang.

A meeting is said to have taken place between the pious Emperor and the missionary and in the conversation that ensued Bodhidharma is said to have pointed out to Wu-ti the futility of seeking real merit in this world[2]

If the above sources are to be believed Bodhidharma did meet Wu-ti of the Liang Dynasty in 527 A.D. But earlier and more reliable evidence belies this suggestion.

Yang-Hsuen-chih of the Wei Dynasty who completed his Lo-yong Chia-lah-Chi (Record of the Buddhist monasteries in Lo-yang) in 547 A.D. records that when Bodhidharma saw ornamental decorations of the Yun-ning-tzu monastery (built in 516 A.D.) he said that it was unsurpassed by any other in all the realms of the Buddha and paid his homage to it.

1 Ching-tah Chuan-teng-lu or Records of the transmission of the Lamp (of the Law) upto the Ching-teh period AD 1004-1007 under the later Sung Dynasty. By Toa Yuan

Wu-Teng hui-Yuan-work of the same nature

2 Fu-chiao-shih-chung-kang-yao-or outlines of the ten schools of Buddhism Ed by Lichin-hsu

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This beautiful monastery was destroyed in A. D. 535 by a fire lasting three months[3] This may give us a hint that probably Bodhidharma visited it in the wake of its golden age or say just a few years after its completion. And that would hardly permit the statement of his arrival in Canton in 527 as stated in Ching-ch-chuan-teng-lu.

A stranger and yet more definite evidence comes from the life-sketch[4] of Bodhidharma by Tao Hsuen (595-667). He says "He first reached the territory of the Sung Dynasty (420-478 A. D.) and then proceeded towards the south, The Sung Dynasty ended in 479 A. D. His arrival in China must be placed somewhere earlier than 479 A. D. though we cannot exactly say when.

All that we can safely state is that the theory that Bodhi dharma reached Canton in 527 A. D. and had the alleged interview with Wu-ti fails to hold ground. He landed in China sometime before 479 A.D. and spent a majar portion of his time in Nanking until 520 A.D.

His family and other tales

With the solitary exception of the author of the Lo-yang-Chia-lanchi who says that he belonged to Persia and came of an insignificant family, all records unanimously state that he was an Indian. There are, however, diverse suggestions about his family and caste. Later records call him a Ksatriya, third son of king Sugandha (Hsiang-Chih) of South India. His teacher was Prajnatara at whose command he sailed for China, the journey taking about three years.[5] But Tao Hsuan, who is more dependable firstly because he lived at a time comparatively closer to Bodhidharma's and secondly, because he did not belong to the Dhyana School, says that he was a South Indian Brahmin of unique wisdom and deep insight. He also attests to the fact that Bodhidharma did not return to India and died in Loyang Liuchu of Latter Chin (936-940 A.D.), the writer of the old Annals of the T'ang. Dynasty, however, seems to suggest that his death was caused by poison

Principles of his doctrine

Literary pursuits had usually driven Indian teachers to China, Bodhidharma on the contrary asked people to obtain realization from within and get rid of textual and bookish learning which possibly explains his delayed popularity.

3 Hu-shih-wen-tsun, 3rd collection, Bk IICh 4 p449

4 The Taisho edition of the Chinese Tripitaka, Vol 50 p 551

5. See Taisho Tripitaka Vol 50, p 552

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His doctrine was twofold; One is faith and the other 'practice'. By faith he meant: "I believe firmly that all living beings possess the same Truth or Supreme Svabhava. As they are obstructed by external objects, I now ask them to give up falsehood and return to reality. They should concentrate their thoughts by facing the wall and think that there is no existence of 'self' and 'others' and all the enlightened and profane are equal."

He further divided the 'practice' into four divisions:

(1) A practitioner should endure all hardship and think he must suffer the consequence of his previous karma,

(2) He should be content with his lot .

(3) He should not hanker after anything.

(4) He should act in accordance with the Dharma which is Svabhava and is pure.

This School has no faith in any Buddhist canonic literature except Lankavatara Sutra,[6] and the principles of meditation. Its followers, especially the Bhiksus led a very hard life of asceticism. They were allowed to eat once a day and carry with them only two needles, one cloth and a bowl. They strived to attain perfection by self-denial.

Conclusion

We have endeavoured to show that Bodhidharma arrived in China not in 527 but in 470 A.D. if not earlier, and the legendary element that surrounded the true life story of Bodhidharma was a later addition when the Dhyana School had established itself and was winning over new converts.

6 See Nanlio's catalogue of Buddhist Tripitaka No 176

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SECTION II

ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY

711-1206 A.D.

President :

DR. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

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SECTION II
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS
Dines Chandra Sircar

Fellow-Workers and Friends,

I thank you heartily for inviting me to preside over the learned deliberations of Section II of the present session of the Indian History Congress. I am no doubt conscious of my own limitations; but I feel that your decision was actuated by your kind appreciation of the small work that this humble fellow-student of yours has done in the field of research in India's history and culture under the auspices of the University of Calcutta. I am sure of your good wishes and co-operation and am quite confident that the work of our section will be a complete success. I offer a most cordial welcome to all scholars, investigators and lovers of Indian history whom I am glad to see around me today.

Our section is designed to cover roughly the period of Indian history from the eighth to the twelfth century. I am really glad to find that the organisers of the Congress did not fix the later limit at 916 A. D. which, according to some eminent writers of today, is the demarcating line between the ancient and medieval periods of the history of India. It is believed that in that year the Pratiharas of Northern India moved towards decline as a result of a staggering Rashtrakuta blow in course of a tripartite struggle for the occupation of Kanauj. As a matter of fact, however, 916 A D. does not appear to have witnessed any extraordinary event that may be regarded as marking an epoch in our history. The above theory is actually based on a wrong idea about the date and effect of the raid on Kanauj by Rashtrakuta Indra III whose accession and death are assigned respectively to the years 915 and 917 A. D. There is, however, evidence to show that Indra III continued to rule as late as 927 A. D., while there is hardly any reason to ascribe his Kanauj expedition to any particular year of his reign. The complete destruction of Kanauj by Indra is, moreover, an exaggerated claim based on a play on the word *Kusa-sthala* meaning 'the city

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of Kanauj' as well as 'a field covered by *kusa* grass'. That it was not an extraordinary event in the long struggle between the Rashtrakutas and the Gurjara-Pratiharas is proved by the fact that the latter continued to rule from Kanauj for another century to come. It may also be pointed out in this connection that the theory about the so-called "tripartite struggle for the occupation of Kanauj which has acquired a halo of imperialism like Delhi in later days" involves certain unproved guesses. The expression 'tripartite' ignores the contribution of the Ayudha group of Kanauj kings in the struggle amongst the Palas, Pratiharas and Rashtrakutas. Again, the struggle between the Pratiharas and Rashtrakutas could hardly have been one for the occupation of Kanauj, as it started with the foundation of the two imperial houses in the middle of the eighth century long before the Pratihara occupation of that city. It is again not easy to prove that Kanauj acquired a halo of imperialism before the age of the Pratiharas.

The organisers of the Congress were right in fixing the period covered by our section between c. 711 and c. 1206 A.D. It begins with the Arab conquest of Sind and Multan and ends with the Turkish occupation of Northern India. But you know that history, which raises us above time, race and environs and enables us to move in the company of the mighty minds of different ages and countries as well as with the waves of great political and cultural movements, is a continuous process. The history of the period covered by our section is not only inseparably related to the problems of other periods of Indian history but has also to be regarded as a part of the history of the world. It is well known that the more is our contact with this broader context the abler are we to view a historical problem in its true perspective and to present it without missing any of the real issues. That the currents of Indian history cannot be isolated from the rest of the world is clearly demonstrated by the period with which we have to deal today. The most important fact in this period of Indian history is, as is well known, the Muslim success in India to the north of the

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peninsula of the Deccan, But it can hardly be isolated from such facts of Asiatic history as the rise of the Arabs under the influence of Islam and the Arab conquest of Persia in the first half of the seventh century, the contest between the Arabs and the Chinese for supremacy in Central Asia (comprising the Northern part of the Uttarapatha division of India) which ended in the ultimate victory of the former and to the conversion of most Central Asian tribes to Islam in the eighth century, the Arab conquest of Kabul about 870 A. D. and the establishment of the power of Turkish Musalmans in Afghanistan in the tenth century. The success of the Arabs was no doubt the most potent cause that induced many Indian kings of the seventh or eighth centuries to seek help of and send ambassadors to the Tang imperial court of China. The notable amongst these monarchs, as you know, were Harshavardhana (641 A. D.) and Yasovarman (731 A. D.) of Kanauj, Chandrapida (713 A. D.) and Muktapida-Lalitaditya (733 A. D.) of Kashmir, Pallava Narasimhavarman II (720 A.D.) of Kanchi and a king of Orissa (795 A.D.) On the other hand, the Muslim conquest of Northern India about the beginning of the thirteenth century not only led to the subjugation of the Deccan at a later epoch but actually shaped the subsequent course of the history of the entire Indian subcontinent. Another case partially in point is the great struggle between the imperial powers—one to the north and the other to the south of the Tungabhadra—which characterises our period but can be traced from the seventh to far into the medieval age.

It is sometimes regarded as customary for sectional presidents of the Congress to discuss in their addresses the general currents of Indian history covered by particular sections. As, however, these are more or less well known to all of you, I hesitate to take your valuable time with a rather uninteresting topic like that. Sometimes an attempt is found to be made in the addresses at a brief survey of the work done during the previous year by various scholars with reference to a period in question. But such a survey, without proper

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evaluation of the contributions of individual authors, can hardly be regarded as very useful. A periodical survey, tempered with appreciation and criticism, is, however, not only expected to provide some sort of guidance for young research workers but is essentially necesary for maintaining a high standard of historical research in our country. Unfortunately it is not always very easy to do. I have examined some of the works (including papers and reviews published in the periodicals, proceedings of learned associations and certain special publications) that have recently come out and am really very sorry to admit that whereas some of them are actually very brilliant, many are not up to standard. A proper analysis of these contributions of a rather low standard alone cannot be done without taxing your patience for several hours. I shall therefore say only a few words generally with a view to raising the standard of our historical investigation. These are of course meant for my young friends in the field of research and also for the few who are independently carrying on researches in historical subjects without having previously undergone sufficient training for such work.

For the scientific study of history, one has to be equipped with the knowledge of languages and scripts for the utilization of original sources, to be diligent in collecting materials, to be critical in the analysis and examination of the data, and above all to be sincere in the search for truth. At the altar of truth must be sacrificed one's passions and preconceived notions as well as one's bias whether it is personal, provincial, racial, communal or national. An eminent Indian historian of the twelfth century rightly says, "That man of merit alone deserves praise, whose language, like that of a judge, has discarded bias as well as prejudice in recounting the events of the past." Linguistic equipment, diligence, critical acumen and love of truth are the qualities essential for success in historical investigations and without all of them in considerable degree nobody can be a first rate historian. You know that the history of many parts of India in our period suffers from a scarcity

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of reliable materials, although not to the same extent as the history of the earlier period covered by the first section of the Congress. Our problem is, therefore, not exactly, as in the case of the modern period of Indian history, of selecting materials with a definite point of view, but mainly to follow faithfully the lead of the data at our disposal and reach conclusions to which we are led by them. The historian should better not cast his own shadow too often on his pages so as to blur the picture painted by him. But then the ancient Indian historian says, "Who else is capable of making vivid before one's eyes pictures of a bygone age barring the poet and the creator who create naturally delightful productions?" We admit that to be a first rate historian certainly requires an amount of vision and imagination and that the so-called subjective method of investigation is not out of scope in our enquiry even in the ancient period of Indian history. It is well known to you that a faulty text of a manuscript or an inscription sometimes yields no meaning and requires to be emended. Suggestive emendations of defective texts are often very helpful in clearing obscure points; but it has also to be remembered that too much free play of imagination in such matters makes confusion worse confounded. What I mean to say is that subjectivity should always be subordinated to objectivity. The objective method has to be followed until a point of view emerges in the mind of the investigator and the materials should then be reviewed from the new angle of vision. My unfortunate experience in the field of Indian historical research is that in our scholarship imagination, sometimes associated with superficiality and a tendency for propounding startling theories, is often more in evidence than critical acumen and a scientific handling of materials. What I mean to say will be clear from a few illustrations.

As indicated above in connection with the Rashtrakuta raid on Kanauj, there are writers who are inclined to take the claims put on behalf of certain kings in the official royal *prasastis* in their literal sense. But surely the claim of Devapala

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to have been the "undisputed" lord of the whole land bounded by the Himalayas, the Arabian Sea, the Bay of Bengal and the Adam's Bridge and that of Dhanga to have kept in his prison the wives of the kings of Kanchi, Andhra Radha and Anga cannot be regarded as history. There are cases for worse than these. Sometime ago the attention of certain scholars was drawn to a theory, based on references to aerial cars and destructive weapons such as the Pasupatastra in early Indian literature, that the Indians of old knew the use of hand-grenades, canons, aeroplanes and even atom bombs from the time of the Rigveda down to that of the *Samaranganasutradhara* attributed to Bhoja who flourished in the eleventh century A.D. It was,however, pointed out to the author that the contention is rendered improbable by the old relics unearthed from historic sites as well as by the description of the military equipment of the Indians and of actual battles of the Indians with indigenous and foreign powers together with their results, as found in more reliable Indian and foreign works of the early period. But without caring for the evidence furnished on this point by the writing of foreigners like Megasthenes, Hiuen Tsang and Kalhana, the author now charged his critics with a bias against our glorious past, said to be borrowed from our 'enemies', *i.e.*, the European scholars. He then condescended to explain away the evidence against his views by a most ingenious process of reasoning and by counter questions, exhibiting nearly what is called *ignoratio elenchi* (fallacies of irrelevancy) in Logic. At length he quoted a famous stanza from the introduction of Bhavabhuti's *Malatimadhava* and expressed the hope that, although the merits of his theory may not be properly appreciated by his contemporaries, it is destined to be accepted by future historians Unfortunately such fondness for one's own theories and no love of truth are sometimes noticed in the field of historical investigation especially in regard to the ancient period of Indian history. How difficult it is to convince some of our scholars about any mistake they might have committed I would illustrate by another interesting example that will also show the opposite side of the picture.

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A distinguished friend of ours reviewed a book on the history of the Pallavas of Kanchi and stated that the author was wrong in supporting the Parthian origin of the Pallavas. When the author pointed out to the reviewer that far from accepting that theory the book actually criticises it, the learned reviewer, strangely enough, quoted a few detached sentences from the book to covince its author that the language of criticism in the book only proves acceptance of the theory!

Proper reviewing of books in the periodicals is undoubtedly the best way of maintaining the standard of research and also of raising it. Unfortunately reviews in our journals sometimes give a false idea about the books reviewed. They are in not a few cases like the *prasastis* of early Indian rulers and take notice only of the real or imaginary good points and not at all of defects. I have noticed brilliant books reviewed. side by side with absolutely worthless ones with practically the same words of praise It has no doubt to be admitted that all contributions should be reviewed with an amount of sympathy and that their merits, if there be any, ought to be emphasised. On no account, however, their glaring defects should be entirely suppressed. This has to be done for the guidance and benefit of scholars working in the field as for enabling the authors themselves to better their works in future editions. Truth certainly demands an amount of boldness from its votaries in the field of historical research.

Sometimes, it is regarded as a duty of the sectional president of the Congress to select an interesting aspect of Indian history and discuss it with a view to attracting the pointed attention of students to a new or important branch of study and research. Although this lies within the scope of all contributors of papers to the Congress, this is certainly a wise step. The attention of our young researchers has to be periodically drawn to subjects of Indian history in which there is ample scope for further work. It is no doubt a matter of regret that unexplored or partially explored subjects

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are too many even now in the early period of Indian history. On the whole, however, it may be said that our investigators usually prefer the political to the institutional and cultural aspects of history. Although there are still many gaps in the reconstruction of the political history of ancient India and although numerous sites shall have to be excavated and thousands of epigraphs discovered and studied before the picture may be finally drawn, it seems necessary that considerable amount of our energy should also be spent now for the elucidation of the cultural history of our motherland in which the breaks are by far bigger and more frequent. By way of illustration, I may draw your attention to the composite nature of our culture and to the contribution to its composition by the various racial elements constituting our society. I cannot but admit that not much has yet been done by us in the analysis of the Aryan, Dravidian, Pre-Dravidian and Mongoloid contributions to our culture as distinct elements. The possibilities of enquiry in this subject of study may be explained by an illustration.

The Pre-Aryan people of the Indus Valley worshipped a Father-god conceived as an ascetic and a lord of beasts and also his phallus as a symbol of procreation and virility. The worship of a Mother goddess and her Yoni as a symbol of motherhood and fecundity was also widely prevalent amongst them. After the settlement of the Aryans in India had resulted in the admixture of Aryan and non-Aryan blood and in the emergence of a composite social structure, the pre-Aryan Father-god was gradually identified with Rigvedic Rudra. This was the beginning of the later development of Rudra-siva as one or the greatest gods of the orthodox Indian pantheon. Although the non-Aryan association of Siva is not completely forgotten even today, the worship of the god and his phallic emblem was widely adopted by even the Aryan element in the orthodox upper classes of the society before the age of the imperial Guptas. Inspite, however, of the fact that the Devi or Mother-goddess is now regarded as one of the Panchadevata (*viz.*, Surya, Ganesa, Devi, Siva,

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and Vishnu) to be worshipped in all ceremonies, complete absorption of this pre-Aryan female deity in the orthodox Indian cult was considerably later than that of Siva. As regards the worship of her symbol, although it was prevalent amongst many of the aboriginal tribes and is advocated in certain late medieval works and although several Yoni-tirthas are mentioned in the *Mahabharata* and later works, it was never agreeable to the taste of all classes of the society. Even in the age of the imperial Guptas, the Indian Mother-goddess, conceived as the wife of Rudra-siva, was regarded by the orthodox elements of the society as sub-ordinate to that god. There are numerous instances of her worship in the association of Siva, her husband and superior, in the epigraphic and literary records of the early period. Without entering into details, which may be dicussed elsewhere, we would like to point out that the kings of the Gupta age and their successors are usually described as extremely devoted to Siva, Vishnu or Aditya; but a monarch who was an exclusive devotee of the Mother-goddess is rarely met with before the days of the Gurjara-Pratiharas, amongst whom Nagabhata II (*c.*805-33 A.D.), Bhoja I (*c.* 836-85 A.D.) and Mahendrapala I (*c.* 885-908 A.D.) claim to have been votaries of the Mother-goddess styled Bhagavati. Wide acceptance of the prominent position of this goddess in the front rank of the orthodox Indian pantheon, although its traces are noticed as early as the age of the Kushanas in the early centuries of the Christian era (cf. Ommo or Uma on a coin of Huvishka), has to be ascribed to the post-Gupta period. But even then her association with such non-Aryan people as the Kirata, Sabara and Pulinda is often pointedly mentioned. The Kiratas were Himalayan mountaineers of Mongoloid origin, while the Sabaras and Pulindas of the Proto-Australoid stock are associated with the Vindhyas and the hills of the Deccan Now the contributions of not only the Mongoloids and Proto-Australoids but also of the Dravidians and Aryans appear to be suggested by the names of the Mother-goddess in Indian literature, such as Uma, Parvati, Haimavati, Gauri, Durga, Aparna, Kali, Dakshayani, Kausiki, Katyayani and others.

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The conception of the Indian Mother-goddess in the medieval period was a composite one in the sense that the Mother-goddess, worshipped under different forms and names by various tribes and clans, was eventually regarded as one single deity who was identified with the wife of Siva. The traditional interpretation of the word *uma* is well-known; but actually the names Uma and Ambika are derived from the Dravidian word *amma*, meaning 'mother' and used in the sense of 'the universal mother'. These apparently point to the prevalence of the worship of the goddess originally among the Dravidian peoples. The name Parvati associates the deity with mountain tribes and Haimavati especially with the Himalayan mountaineers. The name Durga seems likewise to point to the original difficulty in approaching the goddess, possibly because she used to be worshipped in inaccessible caves on hills covered with jungles. The name Gauri, indicating 'the yellow-complexioned goddess,' was used as a name of Himalaya's daughter and seems to suggest her adoration originally among the Mongoloid xanthoderms on the northern fringes of India The representation of Siva, styled Girisa meaning dweller on the mountains,' and of his wife, the Devi, in the guise of a Kirata couple in a celebrated epic story (*cf.* the popularity in the Gupta age of names like Chiratadatta 'one dedicated to Kirataor Siva') also associates certain forms of the Indian Father-god and Mother goddess with the Himalayas. The name Kali , 'the dark-complexioned goddess,' probably points to her original worship among the melanodermic peoples of the Proto-Australoid group. The name Aparna, which tradition connects with the religious austerity undergone by Himalaya's daughter in securing Siva as her husband really means 'the goddess who is without her leaf-cloth *i.e.*, naked.' Aparna thus seems to have been originally worshipped by Proto-Australoid barbarians such as the Nagna Sabara (*i.e.*, the naked Sabaras),distinguished in Varahamihira's *Brihatsamhita* from the Parna-Sabara (*i. e.* the leaf clad Sabaras) to whom the Mahayana Buddhists owed their deity styled Parna-sabari. The names Dakshayani, Kausiki and Katyayani appear to

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indicate deified ladies or tribal and family deities and possibly point to the contribution of the Aryans to the composite conception of the Indian Mother-goddess.

Similar traces of the contribution of the different racial elements in the Indian population can be noticed not only in many others of our gods and demi-gods but also in our languages and dialects, our social customs, religious practices, philosophical ideas and the basis of our law. I invite our young researchers to take up seriously subjects relating to the cultural history of India with special reference to the origin of particular institutions. What is needed at the outset is a thorough and comprehensive survey of all our dialects and of the social and religious practices and institutions prevalent in different parts of India as well as a minute analysis of the materials obtainable from Indian literature comprising all works in all our dialects. Survey is also necessary of foreign works dealing even indirectly with India and of our as yet unwritten floating literature dealing directly or indirectly with our religious and social life, such as the *katha, rupakatha, vratakatha, baramasi, chhada,* etc., current in Bengal. There should similarly be a descriptive survey of all deities iconically or aniconically worshipped in different parts of India with special reference to the mode of their worship. In the absence of any attempt at such critical surveys, we may only indulge in 'armchair research' which, however, can hardly be of very great practical value. The result of my examination of at least our best Sanskrit and Bengali dictionaries is that the former does not take cognisance of many hundreds of words and senses noticed in epigraphic, literary and technical composition, while the latter is wanting in thousands of words spoken in different parts of Bengal. I first realised the necessity of surveys of the type indicated above during my student days when my attention was drawn to the absolutely misleading statement in one of our most outstanding works on Hindu iconography, that in Bengal the god Karttikeya is only worshipped by disreputable women on certain occasions. The statement is true only with reference to certain regions; but the god is actually worshipped

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in wide areas of Bengal by most women desiring progeny in this life or next every year at the end of the solar month of Karttika. Now, with several years' experience in the field of research, I am convinced that no comprehensive history of any important aspect of India's culture can be satisfactorily written in the ordinary armchair method. The success of such a work depends considerably on spade work for which we require not only the support of the Government, the Universities and such learned bodies as the Indian History Congress but also the help of a band of trained, serious and selfless workers who are willing to dedicate themselves for the cause of the history of their motherland. A careless and untrained amateur would often give currency to wrong ideas that will take a long time to go.

Friends, I have always felt very strongly for the progress of our historical research and for the improvement of its standard and I have placed before you today some of my ideas with that end in view. I thank you all very heartily for the patient hearing you have so kindly accorded to me.

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THE DURATION OF HOYSALA VISNUVARDHANA'S REIGN

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri

The dates of the commencement and end of Visnuvardhana's reign have been the subject of an inconclusive debate, and I undertake here a fresh examination of the evidence with a view to indicate the most probable conclusions regarding these dates. The inscriptions published in *Epigraphia Carnatica* constitute almost the sole source material on which the questions have to be decided, and any one who attempts the study of difficult questions with the aid of this material will see how many defects have crept into the work which was rapidly carried out by the indefatigable Lewis Rice. But his successors have not done nearly enough to revise the work carried out by him and produce more reliable readings and renderings of the doubtful records in the collection.[1]

For the initial date the first inscription we have to consider is Epigraphia Carnatica VI TK 56. Opening with a long list of titles it refers to Visnuvardhana in the following rather unusual manner.

Sriman Mahamandalesvara Tribuvanamalla Vinayaditya Poysala Vira Ganga Visnuvardhanadevaru Konga Gangavadi tombattarusasiramu Nolambavadi Banvase Panungallu Palasige Belvola Perdore merey agi Dosasamudra nelevidinolu sukha sankatha vinodadim rajyam uttarottarabhivrddhi - pravarddhamanam acandrarkka - tarambaram saluttamire.

The date towards the end of the published portion reads :

Sri-Calukya-Vikramagalada 11 neya Isvara-samvatsarada Caitra-dvadasi Brhaspativarad andu.

Now Isvara corresponds to A. D. 1097, but CV year 11 would fall about 10 years earlier. In his introduction to the volume containing this record, Rice says (p.15) : "For Bittiga or Bittideva afterwards known as Visnuvardhana, the earliest date we have here is A.D. 1100 in Kd.164"; but in the classified list of inscriptions arranged in chronological order in the same volume, he includes Tk 56 (wrongly printed as 55) in its proper place with a query preceding 1097.

Another inscription that calls for consideration here is Epigraphia Carnatica, V, Ak. 110. It mentions Calukya Tribhuvanamalladeva at the beginning; then it reads:

Svasti Sriman mahamandalesvaram Tribhuvanamalladeva Talakadu Kongu Nangali Nolambavadi Banavase Hanungallu gonda bhujabala Vira Ganga Visnuvardhana-Hoysala Devaru Dorasmudradalu nelevidagi sukha-sankatha vinodadim rayam geyyuttam ire.

It then gives the *prasasti* of the Mahajanas of Kellangere of Hariharapura in prose and verse and mentions the consecration of a linga temple and then adds:

Illiya Jirnoddharakke nanda-divigegam nivedyakkam asesa mahajanangalu bitta dharmma 45 neya dundubhi Samvatsarada Citra-suddha pancami varadandu.

1. For a ciscussion of the initial and closing years of Vishnu Vardhana's reign by M.T, Narsimhalyengara and Lewis Rice-See J.R.A.S. 1915.

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Now, Dundubhi in Visnuvardhana's reign corresponds to A.D. 1142 and if 45 neya before Dundubhi is a reference to the regnal year of the monarch it will point to 1097 as the year in which he began to rule. In his introduction (xvii) Rice remarks: 'Ak 110 of 1142, and even Hn 65, so late as 1149, claim to be his reign, but this must be a mistake :" In his chronological list he includes Ak 110 with a query before 1142, and Hn 65 in Narasimha I's reign with Visnuvardhana's name in brackets. Here Rice is acting up to his view that Visnuvardhana died in 1141 of which more hereafter.

Lastly, Vaisnava tradition avers that Ramanuja dug a tank and built a temple at Tondanur in the Bahudhanya year (A.D. 1098-9) sometime after he had converted the Jaina Bittiga into the Vaisnava Visnuvardhana; this means that the conversion had occurred in 1097 and even then he must have been ruling the country.

In 1097, however, Vinayaditya was still living and ruling and his son Ereyanga was Yuvaraja. Bittiga or Visnuvardhana was the second son of Ereyanga, Ballal I being the first. It seems extremely improbable that Visnuvardhana was permitted to set up rule on his own account. But the situation changed rapidly in the next three years as Vinayaditya died in 1098, and Ereyeanga followed him in 1100 after a short reign; when Ballala I came to the throne in that year, nothing stood in the way of Bittiga being recognised as Yuvaraja, and tradition affirms that owing to illness Ballala I had to leave in his younger brother's hands the active administration of the realm practically during the ten years of his rule (1100-1110), and thereafter Visnuvardhana began to rule in his own right.

The Vaisnava tradition regarding Bittiga's conversion is not a contemporary but an obviously later record as it mixes up the stray incidents of the Muslim invasions which occurred two centuries later. And the date recorded for Ramanuja's presence in Tondanur is not without its defects; some versions give Saka 1021 and Bahudhanya which tally, while others give the Saka year as 1012 which is clearly wrong.[1] Even if we accept the date on the strength of the cyclic year, we can hardly accept the tradition as authentic for the commencement of Bittiga's reign in 1097 : as Rice pointed out he might have been ruling as viceroy in Tondaur.[2] Turning now to the two inscriptions cited above, Tk 56 credits Visnuvardhana with all the conquests he made much later in his reign and with rule up to the river Krishna (Perdore), and this casts a strong suspicion on the date of the record, which as read by Rice, couples CV year 11 with Isvara, another difficulty as we have already seen. As for Ak. 110 Rice himself pointed out[3] that there is no indication of what 45 neya refers to, and suggested that the figure might really be 65 and stand for Saka 1065 which is correct for Dundubhi. We may note further that there is no other instance of regnal years being cited in the kannada records of Hoysala monarchs before the reign of Ballala II. A Tamil record of Visnuvardhana from Dod-Ballapur [4]is dated in his 12th regnal year; and as this region did not pass under Visnuvardhana before A. D. 1112-3, the inference is clear that this record counts his regnal years from 1100, and not earlier, Thus, while it is necessary to get Tk. 56 & Ak. 110 revised properly by a fresh

1. T.A.G. Rao : *History of Srivaisnavas* (Madras 1923) p. 35 and n 1 ; also *Guruparamparai* of Pinbalagiya Perumal Jiyar (Madras 1927) pp. 213-8.
2. JRAS. 1915 p. 528
3. Ibid.
4. EC IX DB. 11.

study, there seems to be no compelling reason yet for placing the commencement of Bittiga Visnuvardhana's rule earlier than A. D. 1100, the earliest clear date for him in inscriptions.[1]

The death of Visnuvardhana in A. D. 1141 is attested clearly according to Rice, by EC. VI Cm. 96. This inscription opens with the usual titles of Visnuvardhana and the mention of his rule. It says:

Saka varsa 1063 neya Durmmati Samvatsarad-andu Bankapuradalu hiriya-arasa Bittideva Kalam geyye,
which clearly means that in the year mentioned i. e. A. D. 1141, the great *arasa* Bittideva died at Bankapura. What follows is not so clear, but translation of the text as read by Rice is as follows: 'Boppa-deva dannayaka, taking the body (Kanthavam), came behind, in the battle of Mudugere, Binna-Gauda of Miriya valpalli in Talige-nad, having secured possession of the elephant and treasury, fought and fell. On which the chiefs and farmers of the nine mandes of the Talige-nad Thousand land, having made petition to Narasinga-deva, obtained one hana of land, gave it to Bute Gavunda, the son of that Binna-Gauda, and set up this stone'.

We may pass over the minor difficulties of interpretation of the passage dealing with Boppa-deva's action after the occurrence mentioned before, and concentrate on the main question of the identity of *hiriya arasu* Bittideva who died at Bankapura. When Mr. T. Narasimha Iyengar criticised Rice for confusing the king with his general Bittideva, Rice neatly replied that he was not guilty of such confusion and pointed out that general Bittideva was living as late as 1162 as seen from EC. IV. Hs.137.[2]

The question may be raised if an inscription recording the death of a monarch and events that took place thereafter would be dated in his own reign. Even this, it must be admitted does not seem to be impossible. For EC. VII HI. 47 seems to furnish another instance of the practice. The inscription is a record of the Kadamba ruler of Hangal, Taila II. It opens exactly like Cm. 96 with the mention of the titles and rule of Tailapa-deva, in the present tense and then proceeds to record the death in CV. 55th year A. D. 1131 of Tailaha-devaru, followed by that of Boppana in fulfilment of his *Vele-Vakyam*, and this record has been accepted by G. M. Moraes as marking the end of Tailapa's rule, even though Fleet had mentioned that this ruler's inscriptions take his rule up to A. D. 1135-[3] *i.e.* five years after the record of his death in HI. 47. There is a slight difference in the names in HI 47–the reigning king being called Tailapadevaru in the first line, and the person who died being described as Tailaha-devaru and Tailaha-devana in the subsequent lines of the record. In Cm. 96, on the other hand, the difference is much more noticeable. The ruling king is called Vira-Ganga Visnuvardhana Hoysala Devaru, while the man who died is styled hiriya-arasa Bitti-deva. Presumably Bitti was a very common name at the time, and besides the Hoysala emperor who

1. EC. VI Kd. 164.
2. JRAS. 1915 pp. 153, and 528-30.
3. *Kadambakula* p. 129; Fleet. DKD. p. 562.

started life with that name which he changed for Visnuvardhana after his conversion to Vaisnavism, there were at least two others among his commanders known to history, the one who died at Bankapura in 1141, and the other, the better-known Bittideva who lived on till at least 1162. Judging thus from the difference in citations of the names we may assume that the Bittideva *hiriya arasa* was a noble of the kingdom and not the king himself.

This becomes almost a certainty when we consider that many inscriptions describe Visnuvardhana as ruling for many years after 1141 as Narasimha iyengar pointed out in 1915 *e. g.* Ec. IV Ng. 100 of 1144; vi Kd. 34 of 1148; v Hn 65 of 1149; xii Ck 40 of 1149; V Ak 52 of 1152; xii Ck 28 of 1156 specially approved by Fleet as correct in its date.[1] Rice finds himself driven to hard shifts to explain away these inscriptions. He avers that as Narasimha was only eight years of age at the time of his father's death which came about suddenly, the government was continued in the name of the father and 'any inscriptions professing to give a later date (than 1141) for Bittidevu Visnuvardhana must therefore refer to Narasimha!'[2] This seems an entirely gratuitous assumption, especially as we find express statements in the inscriptions that Narasimha was crowned from the day of his birth and we find inscriptions engraved in his name from 1135 when he was only two years of age, if not earlier.[3]

There is, however, one more argument advanced by Rice which must be examined before we can conclude this discussion. He holds that EC. IV Ng 76 of A. D. 1145 (Krodhana) is very clear that Visnuvardhana was no more and that Narasimha was ruling after him. He points out that after praise of Visnuvardhana and mention of the provinces he ruled, the record continues: a mahanubhavanim baliyia tandayal accottida teradin....Narasimhan arasu-geyyuttirddam, *i. e.* 'after that magnanimous one, as if stamped with the impress of his father, Narasimha was reigning as king'.[4] But unfortunately for Rice's argument this is not so clear as he imagined. The termination-im is not a decisive case-ending and *bali* gets the following meanings in Kittel's dictionary: (1) a way, a road, (2) plan, spot (3) vicinity, nearness, company, (*nikata*) (4) way, mode, order (5) race, lineage (6) passing on, following, later succeeding in time, after, afterwards. It is thus seen that while Rice's interpretation is perfecly justified and should be accepted if there was nothing against it, another meaning for the phrase a *mahanubhavanim baliya* viz., "from his side" *i. e.* along with him is quite possible, so that the phrase can hardly be accepted as decisive proof that Visnuvardhana was no more.

To sum up, Hiriyarasa Bittideva who died at Bankapura was most likely different from the emperor Bittiga Visnuvardhana; Narasimha was made joint ruler with his father almost from the time of his birth; the exact date of Visnuvardhana's death must be taken to have been later than A. D. 1156, the last date clearly established from the inscriptions for him; the exact date of the commencement of Narasimha's rule in his own right is not certain but lay most probably about 1152 or between 1152 and 1156 when Visnuvardhana's inscriptions

1. JRAS. 1915 pp. 153-5.
2. Ibid. p. 529.
3. EC. VI Kd. 35, V Ak. 17.
4. JARS. 1915 p. 530.

became scarce and Narasimha came of age, as his date of birth is clearly known to be A. D. 1133 from EC. V BI. 124. The period of Visnuvardhana's rule thus falls into two parts (1) Joint rule with his brother Ballala I 1100-1110 (2) rule as emperor 1111-52 or possibly 1156, his son Narasimha born in 1133 being associated with him almost from his birth.

THE ATTRIBUTION OF S'RI-JA-PRATAPA COINS

A. S. Altekar

On a series of coins of Kashmir we find the letter ja deliberately joined with the word pratapa occurring on the legend on the coins issued by Lalitaditya, Muktapida Pratapaditya of Kashmir. The presence of this mysterious letter ja, just in the middle of the name of the King, is indeed a mystery. It may be observed that this letter ja was not known to occur in this legend before the discovery of the Banda hoard in 1927. In his coins of Medieval India, Cunningham refers to and describes a number of coins with the legend Pratapa on them, but there is none among them with the legend Sri-ja-pratapa. The coins with this peculiar legend came to light with the discovery of the Banda hoard; and now we know that they were circulating in Banaras as well. It is a pity that the three hoards found at Rajghat were melted down before their examination. But the Banda hoard consisted exclusively of the coins of Pratapaditya and it is very probable that the same was the case with the Banaras Rajghat hoards. This would tend to show that the only Kashmir ruler whose coins found their way in the distant United Provinces was Latitaditya Muktapida Pratapaditya.

Before discussing the question of the attribution of the S'ri-ja-Pratapa coins, it will be convenient to refer to the Kashmir kings who ruled in the 8th century. Of these Lalitaditya Muktapida Pratapaditya was the earliest and had a reign of 37 years. He is known from his coins. He was succeeded by his son Kuvalayapida who had a short reign of one year and who is not known to have issued any coins. The next ruler was Kuvalayapida's brother Vajraditya, who ruled for seven years but whose coins are not known. Vajraditya was succeeded first by his eldest son Samgramapida, who reigned only for seven days and issued no coins. Sahgramyida was succeeded by his younger brother Jayapida Vinayaditya, who was a powerful ruler and ruled for 31 years. His coins bearing the legend Vinnya are fairly common. We are told by Kalahana that the greatness of Jayapida had been already predicted by his illustrious grandfather Muktapida Pratapaditya. On ascending the throne he tried to emulate his grand-father's example and led an expedition first to Kanauj, then to Prayaga and then to Bengal. While he was away from Kashmir, his brother-in-law Jajja seized his throne. But he was ousted without difficulty by Jayapida, when he returned from his foreign conquest. Jajja could rule only for three years.

Rai Bahadur Pravag Dayal, who published a note on the Banda hoard of the coins of Pratapaditya, has discussed the question of the attribution of the coins with the legend *Sri ja-Pratapa*. He thinks that these coins may be attributed to Jajja, the usurping brother-in-law of Jayapida.[1] This is an ingenious suggestion. Instances are not rare of usurpers issuing their own coinage, not openly but surreptitiously as Jajja may be inferred to have done, if the *Sri-ja-Pratapa* coins are attributed to him. He did not dare to issue coins in his own name

1. *J.A.J.B.N.S.*, 1927. p.

openly; so he issued coins in the name of the recent illustrious emperor of Kashmir, Muktapida Pratapaditya and inserted his initial letter in the legend, changing it to *Sri-ja-Pratapa*. Diodotus, the Bactrian governor of Seleukus, also did not dare to openly issue coins in his own name; he simply included his monogram on the coin issued in the name of Seleukus.[1]

There are however several difficulties in accepting the above theory. Supposing the usurper Jajja issued the coins during the reign of his brother-in-law Jayapida, how is it that we do not find them at all in Kashmir, where his power must have been confined, and find them in Banda and Banaras districts where his name even may not have been known? Would he not have taken special precautions that these coins should not go outside Kashmir, so that they may not meet the eye of the legitimate king Vinayaditya Jayapida and excite his wrath?

It is further to be noted that kings Kuvalayapida, and Sangramapida, who reigned in the interval, are not known to have issued any coins. It is possible to argue that these rulers may have continued to issue coins in the name of Pratapaditya even after his death, and that the usurper Jajja may have simply inserted his initial *ja* in the legend *S'ri Pratapa*. This is probable but not possible. And we cannot at all explain why the coins with the legend *S'ri-ja-Pratapa* should be absent in Kashmir and present only in the hoards found in the U.P. We shall have further to assume that Kashmir continued to hold her extensive conquests right up to Banaras even when weak kings were rising and falling with alarming rapidity. Kalhana distinctly states (IV. 401) that royal power did not shine brilliantly during the interval of 12 years between the reign of Pratapaditya and Jayapida Vinayaditya.

The presence of the coins of *S'ri-ja-Pratapa* with those of *S'ri-Pratapa* would show that they were contemporary issues. Were they really issued in the reign of Jayapida Vinayaditya, would not some coins of this ruler bearing the legend *S'rivinaya*, have been found in the Banda and Banaras hoards? None however have been found.

We have seen already how Kalhana credits Jayapida Vinayaditya with a fresh conquest of Kanauj and Banaras. He tells us that his soldiers got tired after reaching Allahabad and returned home, but that he proceeded all alone to Bengal, where he eventually conquered the five Gaudas, married a Gauda princess and then returned home.

Kalhana's account of the achievements of Jayapida in Bengal appears more poetic than historical, but there is nothing impossible in his having reached Prayaga during a fresh expedition.

It is not unlikely that Jayapida Vinayaditya may have issued coins with the legend *S'ri-ja-Pratapa* during this expedition. People at Banda and Banaras were already familliar with his grand-father's currency with the legend *S'ri-Pratapa*; he may have introduced a minor change, changed the legend into *S'ri-ja-Pratapa* and issued coins of the old type with this new legend.

1. J.A.J.B. N. S., 1927, p.

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There are however several difficulties in accepting this view. Had the coins with the legend *S'ri-ja-Pratapa* in the Banda and Banaras hoards been really issued by Jayapida at the time of his fresh conquest of U.P., there is no reason why regular coins of this ruler having the legend *S'ri-Vinayaditya* should be absent from these hoards. The Banda hoard contained more than 16400 coins. If it contained about 131 coins of Jayapida Vinayaditya with the legend *S'ri-ja-Pratapa*, it should have contained at least a few dozen with the legend *S'ri-Vinayaditya*. Would not Vinayaditya have preferred to announce his fresh conquest by issuing coins in his own full name? Why should he have remained content with introducing himself to his new subject so indirectly? Since he had issued coins in his own name in Kashmir, he would have done the same in the U.P. But No coins whatsoever with the legend *Vinayaditya* have been found in U.P. It is therefore clear that *S'ri-ja-Pratapa* coins were not issued during the reign of Jayapida Vinayaditya as the emperor.

The fact that the Banda hoard of 16448 coins contained 131 coins with the legend *S'ri-ja-Pratapa* shows that the two issues were contemporaneous. The hoard was obviously exported to U.P. to meet the needs of the expeditionary force and the *S'ri-Pratapa* and *S'ri-ja-Pratapa*-issues must have been contemporary. Kalhana tells us how Lalitaditya Muktapida Pratapaditya had predicted the greatness of his grandson Vinayaditya. It is therefore very likely that Jayapida had taken part in his grand-father's expedition in Madhyadesa and impressed him with his leadership and valour. Jayapida, being the grandson through a younger son, had very little normal chance of succeeding to the throne of Kashmir. Kalhana tells us how he was an adventurous youth; he may therefore well have taken part in his grand-father's expedition, hoping to carve out a kingdom for himself, as he had no normal chance of ascending the Kashmir throne. When Pratapaditya obtained effective possession of Madhyadesa for some years, he may have naturally appointed his adventurous grand-son as his governor in Eastern U.P. While stationed somewhere in the vicinity of Allahabad or Banaras; the young governor may well have issued coins in the name of his grand-father, but interposing his initial letter ja in the legend, and thus changing it into *S'ri-ja-Pratapa*. Or Muktapida Pratapaditya may himself have issued these coins in the United Provinces with the initial of his grandson governor's name instead in the legend, in order to familiarise his new subjects with the name of their governor.

This theory can well explain how the coins with the legend *S'ri-Pratapa* are mixed up with those with the legend *S'ri-ja-Pratapa*, how the latter are found only in the U.P. and never in Kashmir and how Vinayaditya Jayapida's own coins are not found in the U.P. hoard. The historicity of Vinayaditya's expedition to U.P. after his accession to the throne has been doubted by many; Kalhana's account about it may be probably due to the panegyrists of Vinayaditya Jayapida ascribing the victories of their patron, really won under the aegis of his grand-father, to a fresh and new expedition after his accession.

1. At his accession Muktapida must have been about 35, since he was the youngest son of his father who had a long reign of 50 years. His younger son was Vajraditya and the latter's son was Jayapida Vinayaditya. Jayapida could thus have been a youth of about 18 when his grand father was engaged in his U.P. expedition. The case was similar to that of the S'unga prince Vasumitra co-operating in the Asvamedha sacrifice of his grand-father-Agnimitra, when he was a youth of 16.

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FURTHER LIGHT ON BRAHMESVARA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION

B. Ch. Chhabra.

The inscription was first published by Mr. James Prinsep as early as 1837.[1] It was later on dealt with by Rajendra Lala Mitra in 1880.[2] The stone slab on which it is engraved is now reported to be missing. For any further study of the record one has thus to depend only an eye-copy of it that accompanies Prinsep's essay.

Recently Mr. P. Acharya, State Archaeologist of Mayurbhanj, has re-edited the inscription.[3] His paper has had the benefit of a revision by Dr. D. C. Sircar. The combined efforts of Acharya and Sircar have no doubt resulted in a great improvement upon the previous attempts, notwithstanding the imperfect nature of the basic material.

The published text nevertheless gives an impression that some of the suggested readings are doubtful. And they will perhaps remain so, until the original inscription is rediscovered and made available for a re-examination. Still there are a few instances where the readings can be controlled even otherwise.[4] In the present paper, however, it is not my purpose to discuss any such readings. I propose mainly to consider an expression or two, about the readings of which there is absolutely no doubt.

The inscription, it may be observed, records the erection of a temple of Siva, called Brahmesvara, along with some subsidiary shrines, by Kolavati, the mother of the Somakulin king Uddyotakesarin. In introducing her, the composer of the prasasti says in verse 11:

Yasyah Kirttana-Murddhasu dhvaja-cayo vatyabhir-urdhvan-gato hasta-abhah sasis-laksma loptum-iva khe-s-otsaham-udgacchati.

Prinsep's translation of this half verse runs as follows:—"whose fame is a number of flags above the earth, and like the whirl wind ascending up, and like a hand going up with exertion as if to destroy the spots of the moon." Mitra repeats this *verbatim* in his edition of the record, while Acharya has apparently tried to render it more intelligible by paraphrasing it as: "her fame spread like the flags high up in the air, and seeing this the people thought that these are as if flying in order to destroy the black spot of the moon with the brightness of her fame." It is plain that these scholars have treated the passage as descriptive of the queen mother's fame, and that in this they have been guided by the *kirtana*. They

1. JASB, vol. VII. 1837. pp. 557-62, plate, XXIV.
2. *His Antiquities of Orissa*, vol. II, 1880, pp. 87-9.
3. *JRASB. Letters*, vol. XIII, 1947, pp. 63-74.
4. The text presented by Acharya is marred by certain slips or misprints. In places it even admits of improvement. The following glaring instances may be noted. In verse 1, *rajju°* and *ksiro°* are obivously mere slips for *rajju°* and *ksiro°* respectively. And so are *°r=urjasvalah* (v. 5), *murddhvasu* (v. 11), *vyahrti* (v. 12), and *murddhv-e* (v. 14) for *°r-urjasvatah, murddhasu, vyahati* and *murddh-e* respectively. After *Brahmesvaro* (v. 13) a *ya* has been dropped, and so has been a *r* after *arcci* (v 14). In verse 7, *tasy-ogra-tejah* seems to be the intended reading where *tasy-opatejah* has been read. Verse 8 ends most probably in *visrutah* rather than in *vanditah*. The *anusvara* supplied over *si* of *rodasi* in verse 9 is neither required, nor is it to be seen in the facsimile. Again, *svarcchati* in verse 13 is a mistake for the correct reading *svarccati*.

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have taken it in the sense of 'fame', whereas in reality it stands here for 'temple'. From this it should be clear that the passage in question describes the multitude of flags fluttering on the pinnacles of the temples which the lady of the royal household had built; it does not describe her fame.

Before going further into the question, let us notice another expression closely related to the one discussed above. The towering edifice of the Brahmesvara temple, encircled by four minor temples, all erected by Kolavati, is described again in verse 12, which extols it as *Kirtti-rajah*. Prinsep and Mitra have rendered this term as 'the king of fame', while Acharya, in his translation, has left it unexplained. It may be pointed out that the term *kirti* here likewise stands for 'temple'. The expression *kirtti-rajah* thus simply means 'the king of the temples', the foremost temple' or 'the most beautiful of all the temples.'

Reverting to the second half of verse 11, *yasyah kirtana murddhasu*[1] etc., its meaning becomes clear in the light of the foregoing exposition. The poetic fancy contained in it becomes vividly understandable, too. We may now render it as: "The multitude of flags on the pinnacles of her temples, fluttering aloft on account of the strong breezes, presents a spectacle of so many hands, vehemently tossing up in the sky as if struggling to wipe away the dark spot in the moon".

It is true that the secondary sense of 'temple' ascribed to *kirti* and *kirtana* is very unfamiliar, but these terms are found employed in the given sense pretty frequently both in literature and in epigraphy, though not always correctly understood. Some of the inscriptions are known to employ even the verbal forms *kirtita* or *prakirtita* meaning 'built', 'built into a temple' or, more generally, 'built into a memorial'. The underlying idea invariably is that the sculpture or structure described as *kirti*, *kirtana*, *kirtita* or the like, stands as an embodiment of the fame of its erector. In other words, it serves as a means of spreading and perpetuating his or her fame.

In one of the inscriptions found at Ranipur Jharial in the Patna State of Orissa, which I have had occasion to study, we come across the usage *idam sthanam kirttitam*, and in other *kirtir-esa prakirtita*.[2] The word *sthanam* in the former refers to a holy place. A more explicit usage of this kind is to be found in a cave inscription, dated in Samvat 1093 (A. D. 1036), at Udayagiri in Gwalior, recording the construction of a Vishnu temple in the words *Chandraguptena kirtanam kirtitam*.[3]

I have discussed the uses of *Kirtti* and the cognate terms in a paper entitled *Kirti; Its Connotation*, lately contributed to the Siddheshwar Verma Presentation Volume (not yet out). Here let me cite some examples that may substantiate the explanation offered of the terms *kirti* and *kirtana*. The most conspicuous is perhaps *kirtanani ca karayet*, occurring in the *Agnipurana*, XXXVIII, 26, where the very theme of the chapter is Merit Arising out of Building Temples (*devalaya nirmanaphal-adi*). Then, in Bana's *Kadambari*, in the description of Candrapida's victorious march, we have *sthapayan sva-cihnani kurvan*

1. The irregular compound formation noticeable in *yasyah kirttana murddhasu* is on a par with *Devadattasya guru-kulam*. The poet's predilection for the usage of *murdhan* 'head' in the sense of *sikhara* 'top' or *sanu* 'submit' is again manifest in verse 14, where he describes the same Brahmesvara temple as *murddh-ev-adreh sakala-gaganam mandayann-uccakasti*.

2. EI, vol. XXIV, pp. 243 & 244.

3. IA, vol. XIII, 1884, p. 185.

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kirtanani lekhayan sasanani.[1] The commentator has misunderstood the central clause here; for, his rendering of it is *Hari-guna ganani-kurvan.* The meaning is made clear by *na satira-kupa-prapa-prasada-tatak-aram-adibhih kirtanair alamkrta medini,* occurring in the *Kadambari* itself.[2] Here again the commentator has gone astray by explaining *kirtanaih* as *namabhih.* This last passage, it may be seen, illustrates the use of *kirtana* in a much wider sense of 'memorial' or 'monument'. In Aryasura's *Jatakamala* we have *srimanti kirtanasatani nivesitani.*[3] Instances of *kirti* in literary works are rare. Some of the lexicons, however, do give *prasada* 'temple' or 'edifice' as one of the meanings of *kirtri.* Hemacandra's *Anekarthasamgraha,* for instance, has *hirtir yasasi vistare prasade kardame pi ca.*[4] In inscriptions, on the other hand, *kirti* is as frequently used as *kirtana.* Besides, the known instances show that the use of *kirti* in the given sense started earlier than that of *kirtana.* A copper charter from Kanheri, dated in the year 245 (A.D. 493), records the erection of a Buddhist *chaitya,* which further on in the document is spoken of as *kirti:tavat kirttih sthir eyam bhajatu subhakari sat-sutam pusya-namnah.*[5] The Nalanda stone inscription of Yasovarman's reign records the construction of a Buddha temple (*prahsadah.....Sauddhodaneh*) which towards the end of the record is referred to as *kirti: tavac candr-avadata' dhavalayatu disam mandalam kirttir esa.*[6] Similarly, in the Nalanda copper plate of Devapala, the Buddhist monastery (*vihara*) built by the Sailendra king Balaputra is referred to as *tavat sat-kirttir esa prabhavatu jagatam sat-kriya ropayanti.*[7] Among the instances of k*irtana,* a clear reference to a Siva temple is found in a Rashtrakuta grant of Saka 734 (A.D. 812): *kartt api yasya khalu vismayam apa silpi tan nama kirttanam akaryata yena rajna.*[8] A Silahara copper charter of Saka 1916 (A.D. 1094) mentions the construction of twelve Siva temples: *Sambhor yo dvadas api vyaracad acirat Kirtanani sva namna.*[9] Five short epigraphs of Devalabdhi at Dudahi in the Jhansi District speak each of a temple, termed as *kirtana.*[10]

Bhagwanlal Indraji and K.T. Telang first suggested that in some cases *kirtana* means 'a temple' (cf Ind. Ant., IX,p. 36. n. 13). It was supported by R.G. Bhandarkar (ibid, XII, p. 228ff.); but Bhandarkar later suggested that *kirti* and *kirtana* should not be actually translated by a specific term like 'temple' but that they denote generally 'any work of public utility calculated to render famous the name of its constructor: J.F Fleet supported this view (corp. Ins. Ind., III, p 212, n.6).

1 Nirnaya-sagar press, 7th ed., 1932, p. 225.

2 Ibid., p. 483.

3 H. Kern's ed., Harvard Oriental Series, XXXI, 66.

4 Jagannath Sastri Hoshing's ed., Benares, 1929, p. 15.

5 *Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India*(Arch. Survey of W. India, No. 10), Bombay, 1881, p. 58.

6 *EI*, vol. XX, p. 44.

7 *EI*, vol.XVII, p. 324.

8 *IA*, vol. XII, p. 159.

9 *IA*, vol. IX, p. 34.

10 *IA*, vol. XII, p. 289. Cunningham's *ASIR*, vol. X, pp. 94-5 Plate XXXII.

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THE FORGOTTEN JAIN MONASTERY OF TIRUPPALLIMALAI OR TIRUMANAMALAI

K. R. Venkatarama Ayyar

The Jain Sangam at Madura, the most famous of its kind, in the far South of India, was established about a century or two before the Christian era. Madura with its monasteries and schools of learning was a centre of culture, but the more austere monks resorted to the caverns near about the city. Not many miles from the city and almost enclosing it are eight hills, the caverns in which were the resorts of monks who spent their lives in penance. The Madura Sanga had branches all over the south, and within the Pudukkottai territory, there are more than fifty Jain vestiges. The low hills in the territory were the natural abodes of monks; and one such was Narttamalai, about 10 miles to the north of Pudukkottai town. The history of the Jain settlement in Narttamalai may however be briefly sketched with the help of inscriptions, and it deserves study as a type of the numerous Jain settlements that studded the southern Tamil country.

Narttamalai is the name given to a semicircular group of low hills encircling a valley which is about 2½ miles in length and 2 miles in width. A village now lies nestled at their foot. Here was once a prosperous city, the civic affairs of which were conducted by a nagaram or assembly of merchants. The present name of the village is in fact derived from Nagarattarmalai (or 'the hill of the merchant corporations'), the old name of the place.

From very early times, possibly from the centuries preceding the christian era, these hills were the abode of Jain ascetics. There is a natural cavern on the *Aluruttimalai* one of the hills of the group—on the floor of which are four polished stone beds, two of which have been so hewn as to form a double bed, while the two others are single beds These point to the great antiquity of the cave where monks performed *Sallekhana*. Nearby is a broken sculpture of a *Tirthankara*. On the rock overhanging the cave are two figures of Tirthankaras cut in relief. These sculptures belong to the Pallava period (7th to 9th centuries A D.). From later inscriptions, we learn that this monastery was called *Tirumanamalai* or *Tiruppallimalai* (or the hill which contains a *Palli* or Jain monastery).

For about two centuries—7th to 9th, Narttamalai was ruled by the Muttaraiyars, a line of chiefs, who were vassals of the Pallavas.

On the *Melamalai* or western hill are two cave temples, the larger of which is even now known as *Samanarkudagu* or 'the cave of the Jains'. It contains a rectangular sanctuary, and an *ardhamantapam* with massive pillars supporting bracketed capitals of the Pallava epoch. It once enshrined Tirthankaras.

About the middle of the 9th century Narttamalai formed part of the Cola kingdom. A structural Siva temple on the *Melamalai*, which is perhaps unsurpassed in South India for its simple elegance and artistic beauty is called *Vijayalayacolisvaram*, named after Vijayalaya who overthrew the Muttaraiyars and their overlords the Pallavas,

1 An old Tamil song says that a visit to these eight hills will ensure release from rebirth.

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and reestablished Cola rule in the south. Two inscriptions[1] of an unidentified Rajakesari,[2] one dated in the fourth year of his reign, and the other in the fifth, record grants of land, tanks etc., together with the right to levy certain taxes. This endowment was earmarked for the daily offering of food, burning of lights and conducting a festival for seven days for the *Alvar*, or the *Tirthankara* of the monastery of Tiruppallimalai situated in *Siruvayilnadu* (the district of Siruvayil).

In the reign of Raja Raja Cola I (c 985-1014) the city was named *Telungukulakalapuram* after one of the titles of the king, and in the reign of Kulottunga III, it was known as *Kulottungacolapuram*. During this period though Siva temples were built in this city and rich endowments were made to them, the Jain monastery was not neglected, but continued to flourish. This monastic settlement had grown to such an extent that it was divided into two institutions—the northern Tiruppallimalai and the southern Tiruppalimalai. *P. S. I.*[3] 658, an undated inscription on the *Bommaimalai*, the southernmost hill, records a royal order[4] announcing the gift of the village of Korrangalam in the south Siruvaryil nadu for offerings to the idols, and the maintenance of the monks of Tiruppallimalai (north) and Tentirupallimalai (Tirupallimalai-south) to be divided between the two institutions in the ratio of 2 : 1.

The beginning of the 13th century marks the decay of this Jain settlement. An inscription,[5] dated in the 27th year (A.D. 1204-05) of the reign of Parakesari Kulottunga III records the sale by the nagaram of Telungukulakalapuram to Kadamban Sengudiyan Gangadhara of Perambaiyur and a merchant in this city lands for endowment to the Sri Kailasa temple that he built. The lands are described as pallivayal or lands belonging to the palli (or Jain monastery). Two mas[6] of these extensive lands of the palli were however excluded for the Aruthar Devar (Arhat) of Tirumanamalai. An inscription of the reign of Maravarman Sundra Pandya (Acc. 1216) records the sale of the above two mas to the same Sengudiyan Gangadhara by two monks of the monastery, one of them was Dharmadeva Acarya a disciple of Kanakacandra Pandita. The entire pallivayal was thus lost to the monastery and was added to the endowments to a Siva temple. Kankacandra and Dharmadeva were among the last of a line of acaryas who lived and taught in this monastery.

Maravarman Sundara Pandya I conquered the Cola country and restored it to Kulottunga III. An inscription[7] dated in the 12th year (A.D. 1228) of the reign of this Pandya monarch registers the conversion of the Samanarkudagu or the Jain cave temple on the melamalia into a Visnu temple. There was a Visnu temple in this city in the reign of Kulottunga I, which a century later fell into ruins, and the idols of Visnu and his Devis

1. Unpublished inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State
2. Gandaradit ya (C. 949-957) or Sundara Cola Parantaka II (c. 956-969).
3. *P. S. I.* Pudukkottai State inscriptions.
4. It was issued under the Cola royal style—*Tribhuvana Cakravarti Konerinmeikondan.*
5. *P. S. I*, 158.
6. A *ma* is roughly 1/3 acre.
7. *P. S. I* 474-date mutilated.

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were installed in this Jain cave. The outer chamber or ardhamantapa of this shrine has now twelve figures of Visnu cut in high relief. Thus passed into oblivion the Jain monastery of Tiruppallimalai. The mutilated idols lying strewn all over the village, the deserted caverns and rock-cut shrines, and the inscriptions on exposed rock surfaces are all that now remain to tell the story of this Jain settlement which was in existence for well nigh fourteen centuries.

To a student of Tamil culture and history, a study of the growth and fall of literally hundreds of Jain settlements in the Tamil country similar to the one sketched above is indispensable. The thoughts and achievements of their inhabitants were woven into the fabric of the culture of the Tamils; for did they not enrich the architecture, sculptural art, painting, literature, language and philosophy of the ancient Tamils ?

NAGABHATA II'S OPERATIONS AGAINST DHARMAPALA AND CHAKRAYUDHA

Benoy Chandra Sen

The sequence of events during the reigns of Nagabhata, the Gurjara-Pratihara King, and Dharmapala, the Pala King, in so far as they have a bearing upon their mutual relationship, may be observed, according to Dr.R.C. Majumdar, in the following chronological order suggested in Chapter VI of The History of Bengal, published by Dacca University:

i. Conquest of Kanauj by Dharmapala, and the installation of his own nominee Chakrayudha as its ruler;

ii. Defeat of Dharmapala and Chakrayudha by Nagabhata;

iii. Reorganization of his empire by Dharmapala.

The inability of Nagabhata to follow up and enjoy the fruits of his successes against Dharmapala and Chakrayudha was primarily due to the crushing defeat inflicted upon him by the Rashtrakuta king Govinda III who had invaded northern India. After this defeat it was impossible for him to rise again; on the other hand Dharmapala who had surrendered to Govinda, made ample amends for his earlier losses by a vigorous and successful effort to reconsolidate his position, after his return to the Deccan. The statement made in the Jaina text Prabhavakacharita that Nagavaloka, identified with Nagabhata, ruled at Kanauj is not to be accepted as reliable, so that, this testimony being rejected, there will remain no evidence of Kanauj having been included in the Gurjara-Pratihara dominion before the accession of his grandson Bhoja (836 A.D.).

In framing this chronological order and arriving at the conclusions stated above, some learned scholars appear to be seriously influenced by the supposition that Nagabhata must have defeated Dharmapala and Chakrayudha prior to his own defeat at the hands of the Rashtrakutas, which was of such a decisive character that he had to lie prostrate under its weight, affording an opportunity to his rival in northern India to win back what he may have lost before. The view that Nagabhata was defeated by Govinda after he had himself defeated Dharmapala and the satellite ruler of Kanauj, is not, however, new. Dr. R.C.Majumdar himself supported this view in his earlier publication

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on the history of the Gurjara-Pratiharas.[1] But another view was also put forward, which placed Govinda's defeat of Nagabhata earlier than the latter's defeat of Dharmapala and Chakrayudha. The acceptance of that view should mean, as its sponsors have shown, that in the contest for power between Nagabhata and Dharmapala, it was the latter who actually won in the end. Even if the other view is to be upheld, it will still be necessary to find out what evidence is available, which justifies the conclusion that Dharmapala, though defeated already was afterwards able to reorganize his empire in such an effective manner that he could leave it without any considerable diminution to his successor, Devapala. It must be admitted that there is no conclusive evidence for a final and satisfactory settlement of the controversy. Nevertheless, an attempt to weigh the relative probabilities of the two theories may be useful in determining which of them is more reasonable than the other.

In the first place it is necessary to ask the question: what could possibly be the immediate effect of the defeat inflicted upon Chakrayudha by Nagabhata? There is no reason to minimise Nagabhata's achievement, although he may have fared very badly at the hands of his Rashtrakuta enemy. The passage in the Sagar Tal inscription[2] which mentions this defeat and which has not been disbelieved by any scholar clearly shows that Nagabhata could not have entered into any compromise with Chakrayudha whom he hated for his servility to his (Nagabhata's) enemy or enemies. There is no other alternative but to accept as true what must have been the logical outcome of this struggle, viz, the former's complete discomfiture, his expulsion from Kanauj, and the occupation of that territory by the victor. It is to be noticed that the Sanjan grant of Amoghavarsha[2] actually places Chakrayudha outside Kanauj when in the company of his patron Dharmapala he is found hobnobbing with the Rashtrakuta hero Govinda III. His presence in a distant region on this crucial occasion can be legitimately explained as a sequel to his flight from his own kingdom in desparately tragic circumstances, particularly when there is no evidence to show that his aggressive enemy had asked him to continue to rule in Kanauj after he had been completely routed. If it is admitted that Kanauj was conquered by Nagabhata, but denied that he held it as his possession it will have to be shown how and when it was lost by him. I believe no evidence has yet been found to show that it was later restored to Chakrayudha or included in the Pala territories. Nor has any evidence been discovered to my knowledge, on the strength of which it can be argued that Govinda conquered it from Nagabhata and subsequently handed it either to Chakrayudha or Dharmapala. Dr. Altekar seems to be right in holding that although Govinda defeated Nagabhata he does not appear to have captured Kanauj. The Sanjan grant which is mainly relied upon in regard to the history of Govinda's activities in the North does not contain any indication from which the inference can be drawn that Kanauj was conquered by Govinda. The conquest of Kanauj by Nagabhata as a result of his defeat of Chakrayudha being highly probable, a definite clue is found as to how that territory happened to come under the possession of the

(1) Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University vol X

(2) Ep. Ind, XVIII

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Gurjara-Pratiharas under whom it remained for several generations. The statement in the Jaina Prabhavakacharita connecting Nagavaloka(3) the grandfather of Bhoja, with Kanauj seems to be in reasonable accord with the combined evidence of the Sagar Tal and Sanjan inscriptions throwing light on the fate and movements of Chakrayudha. Although it is not disbelieved that this Nagavaloka is identical with Nagabhata, we are asked not to believe in his association with Kanauj, on the ground that the text may have made a mistake in pre-dating the Gurjara-Pratihara connexion with this territory which began later and lasted for many years. The date of Nagabhata's death V.S. 890 (833 A.D.), given in the Jana text though regarded as doubtful, has not been altogether rejected by Dr. Majumdar (History of Bengal, p. 118). It will appear then that the specific information furnished by the text regarding Nagavaloka is to be regarded as acceptable, only with the exception of that part of it which connects him with Kanauj. But why should this part be disbelieved? Evidently because the mere suggestion that the authenticity of the passage in the text relating to Nagabhata's association may be called in question does not carry conviction; Dr. Majumdar makes the final remark that he may have conquered Kanauj 'not long before the date of his death'. But he is not certain about it, as this would fall within a period when Devapala is believed by him to have enjoyed the position of supreme ruler of Northern India (p, 112, fn.3). Consequently, he makes another suggestion immediately after this remark that Bhoja may have occupied it by 836 A.D. But is there any proof that it was Bhoja who must have conquered Kanauj? Certain things will have to be proved before we can be convinced of the reasonableness of the chain of arguments presented by the learned scholar: (i) that Nagabhata did not or could not conquer Kanauj though he defeated Chakrayudha; (ii). that it was impossible for him to have conquered Kanauj earlier than 'towards the close of his reign' in 833 B.C. or that the conquest of Kanauj was not possible before the reign of Bhoja. It seems that we have unnecessarily complicated the problem by refusing to accept the only evidence that we have as to the time and circumstances of the conquest of Kanauj by the Gurjara-Pratiharas. As to the time of Chakrayudha's defeat at the hands of Nagabhata it will appear from the foregoing discussion that there is a very strong ground for supposing that it took place before Govinda's advent in northern India, or to be more precise, before Nagabhata's defeat by the Rashtrakuta King, or before the latter was interviewed by Chakrayudha who had already lost his throne. This supposition is strengthened by a passage occurring in the Sagar Tal inscription in which reference is made in a suggestive manner to what happened after Chakrayudha's defeat (Ep. Ind. XVIII, p. 108). The translation offered by Hirananda Sastri (vinaya-namra-vapur-vvyarajat-verse 9) does not fully bring out the sense of the word 'vinaya' here (" He became eminent, although he (lit. his body) was humble through modesty"). What ought to be noted is that the humility which Nagabhata showed was something to which he had disciplined himself as a matter of policy, as required by the exigencies of the situation which confronted him. The author of the insecription seems to have appreciated the necessity of explaining the difference in demeanour and conduct between Chakrayudha and

1. The Rashtrakutas & Their Times, p 66

2. Ep-Ind, XV, p. 179 n. 3

Nagabhata, for both appeared to resemble each other in their attitude of humility although in reality they differed in a vital manner. Chakrayudha's humility was an expression of his subservience to another ruler, while Nagabhata's humility had a reason and a purpose behind it: he had to remain humble for some time on grounds of expediency in spite of his previous achievements. This was the attitude which he was compelled to assume during Govinda's stay in northern India, in the face of a powerful enemy whose mission was to cripple his authority and who succeeded in fulfilling it to a certain extent. The passage to which I have referred is the most significant one in the Sagar Tal inscription which in the midst of an enthusiastic account of Nagabhata's exploits contains the bare hint of a temporary set-back, the cause of which is stated in verse 22 of the Sanjan grant to be the defeat that he suffered at the hands of Govinda who carried away in battles 'the fair and unshakable fame of kings like Nagabhata and Chandragupta" (Ep. Ind., XVIII, p.253). If the interpretation which I have ventured to put upon verse 9 of the Sagar Tal inscription is to be accepted, it will appear that after a period of vigorous military operations ending with the defeat of Chakrayudha there was an interlude before the next aggressive phase began in which his most notable achievement was the defeat of the Vangapati, referred to in verse 10 of the same inscription. In the history of the life and career of Nagabhata this interval which stood between two periods of momentous activity was characterised by his failures to meet successfully the forces marshalled against him by the Rashtrakutas, when the darkness of defeat and disaster seemed to enshroud him like darkness of night covering up the rays of the sun. He was able to dispel this darkness and establish himself as the glorious sun after he defeated the Vangapati who led a considerable army against him. In this connection H. Sastri says that "the rise of Nagabhata was possible only if he could defeat the Vanga king, and that is why he first turned his arms in that direction". He says further: 'The sun of Gurjara glory had set with Vatsaraja, and the fortunes of his family... lay enveloped in the darkness of night as it were, till a defeat inflicted upon them ushered a new dawn for the Gurjaras in the east'. It is not true that the verse in question refers to the deterioration of the Gurjara-Pratihara power in Vatsaraja's reign but the failure of Nagabhata himself to cope successfully with the Rashtrakuta army after his own successful onslaught against Kanauj, with its disastrous consequences that darkened his career. What contributed to restoration of his former glory was his victory over the Vangapati, marking the termination of that period of defeat and humiliation which lasted during the existence of the Rashtrakuta forces in the North. The next verse of the Sagar Tal inscription cannot apply to the period which followed Nagabhata's war with the Vangapati, as H. Sastri thinks, for as his own translation shows, the Gurjara-Pratihara's successes against Anartta, Malava, Kirata, Turushka, Vatsa and Matsya took place in the main when he was a mere boy. The word 'kumara' used here shows not only that he was a youngman at the time when military action was being taken against most of these territories, but also that he was not seated on the throne as Vatsaraja's successor, but was acting as his father's Viceroy, a point which seems to have been missed like the other point which can be made, as I have already shown, on the basis of the word 'vinaya' used in an earlier verse of the same inscription.

I have so far tried to establish that between Nagabhata's defeat of Chakrayudha and his defeat of the Vangapati there passed a time which must have synchronised with Govinda's presence in the North. The Vangapati seems to have been vanquished after the Rashtrakuta army left. Thus Chakrayudha was defeated and expelled from Kanauj before Govinda appeared to give a fight to Nagabhata, while the Vangapati was attacked after Govinda withdrew to the south.

Even though it may be assumed by scholars generally that the Vangapati whom Nagabhata attacked was a Pala king, it is very doubtful if he can be identified with Dharmapala. According to Dr, R.C. Majumdar, Dharmapala died in about 810 A.D., i.e., hardly two or three years after Govinda's withdrawal from the North. It is not improbable that Nagabhata reigned till 833 A.D. Thus Nagabhata ruled as contemporary of Devapala, the son and successor of Dharmapala, for a number of years. Consequently. Nagabhata's trial of strength may have been with Devapala, rather than his father Dharmapala who died shortly after Govinda's return to the south. A reasonable period of time was neccessary for the purpose of recouping the strength which Nagabhata had lost during Govinda's stay in the North before he could venture to launch what appears to have been a big war against an enemy whose resources were not inconsiderable. It is, however, quite probable that Nagabhata may have actually fought against Dharmapala, not after Govinda's return to the Deccan, but on a former occasion which was associated with one of the most tragic episodes of his life. I have already mentioned that Nagabhata undertook some notable military operations in his early youth when he had not yet ascended the throne but was acting as his father's viceroy, as a *Kumara*. It was during this period that Vatsa may have felt the impact of his arms. This was within the area where the Rashtrakuta king Dhruva pursued the fugitive Gauda king towards the end of the eighth century A.D., before Dharmapala conquered Kanauj and established his protege Chakrayudha as its ruler. The Chatsu inscription[1] of Baladitya, the Una inscription[2] of the year 956 (899 A.D.), and the Jodhpur inscription of Bauda[3] show that Samkaragana, Bahukadhavala and Kakka respectively were amongst those who are believed to have fought against the Gaudas on the side of the Gurjara-Pratiharas. The Jodhpur inscription in particular refers to Kakka's success against the Gauda king at Monghyr, and the Una inscription mentions Dharma by name, who like Dharma mentioned in the Sanjan grant, has been identified with Dharmapala. But if it was on the side of the Gurjara-Pratihara that they all fought at Monghyr and also at other places besides Monghyr, which does not seem improbable, the question is: who was the Gurjara-Pratihara king whose cause they may have championed ? In the absence of any direct reference to his name in the above-mentioned inscription, the formulation of any right theory as to his identification should be discountenanced. It cannot be denied that some degree of artificiality has crept into the plan which makes Nagabhata, the king, the contemporary of the three chiefs mentioned above. They may have been his contemporaries, which is quite possible, but it will be difficult to maintain that they were so only after Nagabhata had ascended the throne, and not from a date earlier

1. Ep. Ind., XII, p 10 ff
2. Ep. Ind., IX, p 7 ff
3. JRAS., 1894, p. 1 ff; Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 87.

than his accession. The battle at Monghyr in which Kakka fought against the Gaudas may have taken place at any time between 790 A.D. a little before Dhruva's advent in the North, and 810 A. D. when Dharmapala died according to the chronological scheme presented by Dr. Majumdar. This estimate includes within its range the conflicting probabilities involved in the supposition that Nagabhata may have defeated Dharmapala either before or after his own defeat by Govinda. There is nothing in the Jodhpur inscription which can make it impossible for Bauka's father Kakka to have fought against Dharmapala on the side of Vatsaraja at the commencement of the nineties of the eighth century A. D. The period of twenty years which has been calculated for the purpose of the present estimate is further reduced by those who held that Nagabhata defeated Dharmapala before Govinda came to the North in 807-8 A. D.

If it is believed to be possible that Kakka helped Nagabhata in a war with Dharmapala before this date, there can be no serious objection if it is suggested that instead of fighting against the Gaudas during the reign of Nagabhata Kakka took part in the struggle that took place between the Gaudas and Vatsaraja just a few years earlier, when Nagabhata too was his contemporary but with this difference that he had not yet occupied the throne. Nagabhata in the course of this struggle may have advanced as far as Vatsa; at any rate he was able to do some mischief to the ruler of Vatsa whoever he might have been, while the Gurjara-Pratiharas assisted by Kakka and probably some others advanced further east and obtained a military victory at Monghyr. The Gauda king was thus effectively vanquished. His plight is shown in verse 8 of the Radhanpur grant of Govinda III which refers to Vatsaraja's boasting 'of having with ease appropriated the fortune of royalty of the Gauda.'

As no easy explanation can be found as to how it was possible for the Gauda king to be in the land between the Ganges and the Jumna after he had been severely beaten by his rival Vatsaraja, it has been supposed that 'no special importance need be attached to the statement that he took away Gauda's umbrellas of state' (History of Bengal, p. 105, fn. 1), and that 'this does not necessarily mean, as has been suggested that Vatsaraja advanced as far as Gauda, far less that he actually occupied Gauda and Vanga'. But if it is true that Nagabhata reduced the power of the rule of Gauda during Vatsaraja's campaign against the Gaudas, and also that some able chiefs took part in his war further east and helped to bring him victory, it will be necessary to put a new complexion upon the Gauda-Gurjara conflict in Vatsaraja's time, and the expression: Hela-svikrita Gauda rajya kamata mattam describing Vatsaraja's achievement will be found to have an import which cannot ed brushed aside as sheer exaggeration. It is significant that in the Sanjan grant no reference is made to Dhruva-Nirupama's victory over Vatsaraja, his great rival as mentioned in the Radhanpur grant, but to the capture of the white umbrellas of the Gauda king 'as he was fleeing between the Ganges and the Jumna'. On the other hand the Radhanpur grant of Govinda III does not refer to the Gauda king in this connexion but to the fact that Dhruva's matchless armies quickly drove into the trackless desert Vatsaraja, and afterwards to his capture of the white umbrellas of

1. Ep. Ind. VI, pp. 239, 248.

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Gauda. The presence of the Pala king in this region of the Ganga-Yamuna doab cannot be satisfactorily explained as most scholars have felt, and there has been a spate of speculation as to what may have brought him there, so far away from the Pala territory in the east after he had been defeated by Vatsaraja. With no evidence to support him, Dr. Altekar thinks that Dharmapala was attacked here by Dhruva while he was making an unsuccessful invasion of Kanauj. The umbrellas of Gauda could not have been secured from two persons at one and the same time. Either they were really identical, in which case the Radhanpur grant and the Sanjan grant will be not to contradict each other or only one of them could have been the enemy from whom Govinda obtained the symbols of the sovereignty of Gauda, in which case the evidence of one grant has to be accepted to the exclusion of the other. The Radhanpur grant belongs to 808 A. D., while the date of the Sanjan grant is 871 A. D. There is a greater chance for the latter record to have made a mistake than for the earlier one. Consequently, it will be more reasonable to suppose that Dhruva did not come into any contact with the Pala king, as may be otherwise understood from the Sanjan grant. But the Gauda king referred to in the Sanjan grant may have been actually identical with Vatsaraja, who after defeating the Gauda king and capturing the symbols of his sovereignty may have gone to the extent of styling himself the lord of the Gaudas. While all the contemporary records refer to the Palas as Gaudeudras, Gaudapates or rarely mention the titles Gaudendra and Vangapati together, it is the Sagar Tal inscription which makes itself conspicuous by referring to the Vangapati, and by that title, presumably the Pala ruler himself, if it is to be taken as is usually done to be applicable to Dharmapala, or Devapala as I have suggested. Devapala on being defeated by Nagabhata sought ways and means of extending his power to the east where Utkala and Kamarupa were subjugated by his army. He later succeeded in defeating the Gurjaras also, and was able to keep a firm hold on Bihar.

It will appear probable then that the Rashtrakuta king Dhruva did not have any occasion to defeat a Pala ruler in the territory between the Ganges and the Jumna, and that Nagabhata after his accession to the throne may not have come into a direct conflict with Dharmapala. The struggle between Dharmapala and Nagabhata was more or less of the nature of a keen competition in diplomacy and strategic moves. The conquest of Kanauj by the latter gave a rude shock to the hegemony which had shown itself in full strength on the occasion of the installation of Chakrayudha as its ruler.

1. cf Baroda grant of Karka Gaudendra Yangapati nirjjaya, Ind Art, XII, pp, 157 ff.

2. It is difficult to support the theory that the statement in a Pala record that Devapala, secured the throne without any trouble; nirupaplavam rajyain prapede shows that he ruled as supreme ruler during the time when Nagabhata was his contemporary (History of Bengal, Dacca University), for this only means a claim that Devapala's accession was a peaceful one, that there was no internal trouble confronting him at the time. If does not give any idea as to the extent of his territory or his relations with other powers.

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SECTION III

MEDIEVAL INDIA

1206-1526 A.D.

President:

REV. H. HERAS

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SECTION III

MEDIEVAL INDIA 1206-1526 A. D.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

H. HERAS

The period of Indian history that occupies our attention records a twofold phenomenon which has extraordinarily influenced our history and our spirit. After a long period of Afghan rule in northern India the 14th and 15th centuries witnessed the disintegration of the Afghan Empire of Delhi, and the consequent rise of petty Muslim kingdoms throughout India. The seeds of that disintegration were sown by Muhammad bin Tugluq. Modern history has exonerated him of the charge of having plotted against his father's life, as recorded by both Ibn Batuta and the *Futuh-us-Salatin*. Equally false or at least exaggerated seem to be many other accusations brought forward by contemporary or almost contemporary writers, as Dr. Agha Mahdi Husain has shown. Yet Muhammad bin Tugluq was not diplomatic enough not to spread discontent among his very courtiers. His ambitious projects gave rise to many occasions where he could not control his temper, and he naturally created mistrust among all his subjects. If public rebellion did not break out immediately after his death it was due to the statesmanship and loving character of Firuz Shah. But during the reign of the latter's successors and specially during that of the Lodis rebellion spread throughout Northen India and the power of Delhi grew every day weaker. It was then that the petty states of Bengal, Malwa, Mewat, Oudh, Gujarat, Jaunpur and the Deccan made their appearance. Even the state of Madura, whose distance from Delhi, was greatly felt in all spheres of administration, shook off its allegiance from Delhi, and so lost much of original strength. The unity of Nothern India received the coup de grace when Timur conquered Delhi in the beginning of the 15th century. That calamity weakened the central power and consolidated the rebel Amirs in the provinces.

While this was happening in Northern India, just the opposite was taking place in the south.

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Many a Hindu Dynasty had written glorious deeds in the annals of Dakshinapatha in previous centuries. The Ceras, had recorded their deeds in stone epigraphs for the first time in South India. The Pandyas of Madura had brought their victorious armies from Ceylon up the field of Kurukshetra and their fame reached the Mediterranean countries. The Pallavas had scooped temples out of the rocks and fostered Sanskrit literature. The Colas had erected numerous temples famous for their colossal sikaras. The Kadambas had unified Kuntala-desa and united their family with Guptas, Vakatakas and Gangas. The Calukyas had rivalled with the Pallavas in their rock temples and even attempted the conquest of northern India. The Hoysalas had cultivated fine arts and especially the art of the *silpa* creating the most florid architecture and sculpture of south India, a work of delicate filigree, of real lace in stone, as the images and pillars of Vellur, Halebidu and Somanatapur show. The Gangas and the Rastrakutas fought successively for the supremacy of South India The Kakatiyas of Warangal also had constructed magnificent buildings notable for a vigour and loftiness and a sense of proportion seldom surpassed.

All these small kingdoms fought at times against each other; *changing their frontiers according to the vagaries of fate.* Some of them often sustained the terrible onslaughts of the Turkish armies of northen India. Amongst the latter, besides the Yadavas of Devgiri and the Kakatiyas of Warangal, we must mention the Hoysalas. Their capital Dvarasamudra was destroyed by the army of Malik Kafur, *during the reign of Sultan Alau-d-din Khalji.* The son of the Hoysala King himself Vira Ballala III, also named Vira Ballala, was sent to Delhi as a prisoner whence he came back some time after and was received with great rejoicing by his father, as is expressly recorded in an inscription of the Shimoga District. The death of the Delhi Sultan and the subsequent change of Dynasty enabled the Hoysala ruler, to strengthen the frontiers of his

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kingdom and grant relative autonomy to his *mahamandaleshwaras* in case of a possible invasion. The inscriptions of his time reveal the extraordinary activity of that great ruler from the one corner of his vast kingdom to another (from Dvarasamudra to Unnamalepatana (Tiruvannamalai), from Arunasamudra to Barkur, from Chiricheropali (Trichinopoly) to Vira-Vijaya-Virupaksapura). In this continuous movement of this great monarch we may see the unifying spirit of South India trying to bring all those chess-pieces together against the enemy, just when the seeds of disruption were being sown in the north.

It was probably at the time of one of his frequent visits to Tiruvannamalai that Ballala III "convened a meeting of his kinsmen and resolved first, to secure the forts of his own country", as Ferishta informs us (I, p·427). After the conquest of Warangal by the Turks, Tiruvannamalai was a strategic point on the way from Telingana to Madura. An inscription in the Chitaldug District seems to refer to this great event (when it records that "Ballala-deva, together with the champion at his side, the strong-armed Bhima-Raya, the prince Kathora-Hara, the prince Simha-Raghunatha, the prince Kalamegha, the prince Vira Santa, Baicheya-Dannaya-ka-Chamupa, who was the punisher of the famous Madhava, Raya of Udevara, the great minister Ballapa-dannayaka and the great minister Singeya dannayaka, were in the residence of the city of Unnamale, ruling the kingdom in piece and wisdom") (*E.C.*, XI, Cd, 4).

Shortly after we find him ruling "in happiness" in the city of Sri Vira Vijaya Virupaksapura which is no other than the one known as Vijayanagara in later times. His visit to that spot was undoubtedly for the purpose of fortifying it. The original city on the banks of the Tungabhadra was Anagundi opposite the Pampa of the Tunga, and traditionally connected with *Mahabharata* legends. The ancient chiefs of this place had selected a magnificent corner easily defendable against an invasion. The hills that surround Anagundi on the northern bank of the Tungabhadra form a

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real labyrinth out of which it was not easy for an army to extricate itself. Ballala III fortified those hills and the ruins of those fortifications may still be admired. The space left open between the hills and river being not very considerable, the enterprising Hoysala ruler extended the city round the temple of Virupaksa on the southern banks of the river. Consequently Vijayanagara was often called "Hosa Hampeya-Pattana", "the new city of Hampi", Hampi being another name of Anagundi. That is the reason why in later days, in honour of the old fort which was the origin of the great capital, the latter was at times referred to as a suburb of Anagundi. Thus Harihara II is said to be "in the residence of Vijayanagari *in the Hastinavati fort*" (E.C., VIII, Hl, 71). [Hastinavati being the Sanskrit rendering of Anagundi, "Elephant's pit"]. Even down to the first half of the 15th century, Devaraya is mentioned as ruling "in the residence of Vidyanagari *belonging* to Anagondi durga, which is Hampe-Hastinavati" (*E.C.*, VII, Sk, 288).

Such was the great work of Ballala III in the northen frontier of his kingdom. Forsaking the traditional capital of his family Dvarasamudra, he established and fortifield himself in an outpost of his kingdom, and established in that city his own court *and the centre of his rule,* for nearly ten years, from 1330 to 1339 as the circumstances demanded. His political vision had laid the foundations of south Indian unity. To crystallize his ambition he caused his son Vira Virupaksa Ballala Dava to be enthroned probably at Vijaynagara itself, for the inscription that records a grant of the king to some farmers is dated the first half of 1343 (E.C., VI, Cm, 105) and Ballala III, an old man nearing eighty, had died in September 1342. Hence the grant undue reference must have been made before this date. The inscription in fact is a copy of the grant from an older document probably signed in 1340,when the *pattabhiseka* of the young prince took place, according to another inscription of the

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Bangalore District (E.C., IX, Bn, III). Now in 1340 Ballala was ruler at Hosanad (E.C., IX, DB, 13) which seems to be the same as Hosapattana or Vijayanagara.

Ballala III then resolved to destroy the Turkish kingdom of the South by conquering the city of Madura. But fate was against him. The besieged army of Sultan Ghyasu-d-din sallied out, scattered the Hoysala army, despite its superiority in numbers, the king fell a prisoner in Kannanur, not far from Trichinopoly. Ibn Batuta describes his execution and says that he sold his gruesome remains hung from the top of the walls of Madura.

It was after the fall of this great Hoysala ruler that the city and kingdom of Vijayanagara came into South Indian History. It is unnecessary to receive the controversy with regard to the origin of the early rulers of the Sangama Dynasty and how they occupied the great city on the Tungabhadra. Whosover they were, wheresoever they came from, the two mahamandaleswaras of Vijayanagara, Harihara and Bukka, as they styled themselves (never did they take the title of Raja) considered themselves the political heirs of the Hoysalas. Ballala IV, the last Hoysala ruler, seems to have died in 1346, for we hear of him no more after this date (E. C., IX, Bn, 120). Immediately after, the authority of Harihara was acknowledged in the Bangalore taluka (*Ibid.*,*47*); signifying that he was recognized as the rightfnl successor of the Hoysala. Again he was recognized in the Malur Talka of the Kolar District, wherein he is said to have made use of "the loyal seal" (*Ibid.*, *40*). In the same year he was found with his brothers and relatives in the Sringeri Math "in order to celebrate the festival of his victory", (*Ibid.*, VI Sg., I), a victory over unmentioned enemies, a triumph without a struggle, a success which brought him fiill control over the entire country after the disappearance of his overlord. We read in another inscription of the same date and in the same place "that Hiriya Hariyappa Odeyar was ruling the earth in the Hoysana country" (M.A.R., 1916, pp. 56-57). After this Bukka I is often

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found ruling Devarasamudra itself. But even when ruling at Vijayanagara or in other places, they were always remembered as the rulers of the Hoysala kingdom. Once Bukka is said to be on the south side of the Kaveri, "in the country of strong-armed king Visnuvardhana Pratapa Hoysala" (E. C., IV, Ch, 113). Practically all the Vijayanagara Emperors down to Venkata IV in 1669 are proud of mentioning in the inscriptions that they rule the earth in the Hoysala country (Cf. Heras, *Beginnings of Vijayanagara History,* p. 114). Deva Raja II is said to be "the maintainer of the orders of the old kings of the Hoysalanad" (E. C., III, TN, 55); and Harihara II prays the god Kesava of Belur to grant happiness to his people as he did "in the time of the illustrious Hoisana kings„ (Rice, *Mysore inscriptions*, p. 226).

But above all the rulers of Vijayanagara inherited the spirit of unity from the old kings of the Hoysala-vamsa, a unity not founded upon religion or other private interests, but only upon the universal rights of citizenship. They conceived all the Indians of South India as members of one vast family. Ibn Batuta informs us that one of the petty rulers who enjoyed peace under Hariab (Harivappa or Harihara) was Jamal-ud-din Muhammad of Honavar, on the western coast. Paes speaks of the "Moorish(or Muhammadan) quarter" in the city of Vijayanagara (Sewell,p. 256); and of the Muhammadan soldiers of the army "with their shields, javelins, and Turquish bows with many bombs and spears and fire-missiles" taking part in a military review in the same way as the Hindu soldiers (Ibid., p 277). This shows that the Muhammadans were living in a true spirit of fraternity in that Hindu Empire, defending it against the Muhammadans of Northern India.

The Empire of Vijayanagara epitomized all the greatness of Indian ulture in South India. The cultural elements seem to be crystallized in the architectural style developed in Vijayanagara, where the humble square *vimanas* the Kadamba temples are marvellously combined with the Pallava and Calukya sikaras to produce the lofty gopurams,which rival the pyramidal

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structure of the Colas and are silent witnesses of that spirit of unity. Their spirit of eclecticism was so great that even the Muslim element was introduced in the architecture of Vijayanagara, as we may still see in the upper structure of one of the gates leading to the ferry on the Tungabhadra or one of the baths in the centre of the city, and in the watch towers of the *zenana*.

This Hindu-Muslim style developed greatly at a later period as we may see in the pleasure house of Rama Raja the so-called "Lotus-Mahal", in the palace of Chandragiri, and in the lofty structure of Tirumala Nayaka's Palace of Madura.

This was an extraordinary example of unity tha Vijayanagar left to us as a precious inheritance; all the more to be admired at a period when the Turkish Power of Northern India was disintegrating fast. That unity saved South India from the chaos of the north and Daksinapatha enjoyed that peace till that unity was broken up by the selfish ambitions of the Nayakas who opened the gates of the Empire to the Deccani Muslims, in whose wake the army of Aurangzeb reached the very gates of Madura.

The descendants of the great rulers of the last dynasty of Vijayanagara have now taken refuge within the ruined walls of what was the cradle of that vast Empire. Their representative the youn Krishna Deva Raja of Anagundi enjoys a small *jaghir* within the boundaries of the Nizam's dominions and watches with sadness over the ruins of the capital of his ancestors, which lay across the river Tungabhadra.

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AN UNPUBLISHED WORK OF BARANI,

AGHA MAHDI HUSAIN

An unpublished work of Barani commonly known as Ziya-ud-din Barani, the historian of the 8th century Hijra (14th century A. D.), entitled Fatawa-i-Jahandari lay unkown until recently in the India Office. It is a political code or compendium of political theories which the learned author presented to the royal court. These have much in common with the exposition of his political views in his *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* according to which a Muslim king should always uphold the religion of Islam and endeavour to extirpate idolatry and the idol-worshippers. He should suppress every heresy among the Musalmans and confer all high and responsible posts, particularly those in the judicial department, upon pious men of religion and should do his utmost to administer impartial justice. Such views which remained latent in the *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* found forceful expression in the *Fatawa-i.Jahandari* a book which came as a complement.

Extracts from the Fatawa-i-Jahandari

".....The real administrator and ruler of the world is the Almighty Creator: all others are the temporal rulers and administrators who are the playthings of Destiny. (That is, they temporise complying with time and occasion and yield to circumstances.)..... .....

".....O sons of Mahmud! it behoves you to attach the greatest importance to sound administration and not to take it lightly since it is an art the attainment of which can lead to the capture of the entire world and the failure to attain which may result in the destruction and distraction of the world. That is why the philosophers have said that 'good statesmanship is next to the Vahi (message) from Heaven.....

".....Should the kings consider the payment of a few tankas by way of the Jizya as sufficient justification for their allowing all possible freedom to observe and demostrate all orders and details of infidelity, to read the misleading literature of their faith and propagate their teachings, how could the true religion get the upper hand over other religions and how could the emblems of Islam be held high.....

".....Now, the fact is that the (Muslim) kings consider and believe the realization of a few tankas from the kafirs and pagans by way of Jizya as the highest service of theirs to Islam, as amounting to holding aloft the emblems of Islam, to doing justice to truth, to bringing honour to the cause of righteousness and to increasing the light of Islam every hour: they do not even dream of extirpating the kafirs and pagans. Far from this, they hold the kafirs and pagans in the greatest respect and esteem and honour them highly by considering them as Zimmi and Khiraji believing that as payers of Jizya and Khiraj they are the protected

people. In view of this they concede to the kafirs and pagans the insignia—the drums, standards, tight tunics, bejewelled and brocaded and wellequipped horses: they also confer on them responsible offices including governorship of provinces;.....further they allow and like to see that in their own capital cities—the loftiness of the emblems of which keeps aloft the emblems of all the cities of the Musalmans the infidels and pagans should raise their palace-like lofty houses, that they should wear robes of brocade, that they should ride steeds equipped with gold and silver saddles, they should be furnished with complete paraphernalia of greatness, enjoy all luxuries and employ Musalmans as their servants keeping them in attendance before their horses, that poor Musalmans should come begging at their doors and that the kafirs and pagans should in all honour and respect enjoy the honorifics of Rai, Thakur, Sahu, Mahant and Pandit.....

...Further if the Muslim kings agree that all philosophers of paganism who are really the enemies of Islam and the prophet should carry on an unrestrained and open propaganda of their books and if the Muslim kings concede that Greek philosophy which is antagonistic to the teachings of all the Prophets from the beginning to the end should be called 'the science of reason' and that the literature of the Shariat be called 'the science of tradition'; and moreover if the Muslim kings under the influence of the former believe the universe to be eternal and if they do not consider Allah as cognizant and disposer of all details and if they disbelieve in the Day of Judgment in the Day of Resurrection and in Paradise and Hell.. the acknowledgment of all of which is the essence of Islam, being a truth which has been revealed in the course of thirty thousand and sixty books of the apostles...and as a result of all this if such musbelievers establish themselves in the metrolpolis of the Muslim kings in all honour and dignity and disseminate their teachings preferring pagan philosophy to Islam literature, how can Islam get the upper hand over other religions and how can the emblems of Islam attain to a height ? and how on earth truth will be able to rise to its legitimate place.....!

..... O sons of Mahmud ! sound administration consists (1) in evolving a plan the execution of which results in the betterment of both ruler and the ruled; (2) in reflecting on both the aspects of an intended expedition and both sides of a suggested plan on its feasibility as well as on its non-feasibility; (3) in undertaking to execute that plan which must not ultimately jeopardise the religion of the king and his subjects; (4) in pursuing a plan which should lead to immediate good and even to an amount of good eventually ; (5) in taking to a plan the pursuit of which should rebound to the king's credit and not to his discredit :(6) in pursuing a plan which should result in transforming an enemy into a friend and must not end in making an erstwhile friend into an enemy; (7) in taking to a plan the pursuit and execution of which should be an object of interest to the people and should not inspire hatred ; (8) in taking to a plan which might appear as unfeasible and erroneous to the stupid ; (9) in taking to a plan which might be easy in its pursuit and execution and must not entail untold hardships

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in the course of it; (10) in taking to plan which would meet with unqualified approval of the most consummate intellects and should create no differences; (11) in taking to a plan the pursuit of which in every detail should militate against animal passions; (12) in recognizing the fit occasion for penalizing and forgiving a deed and in deciding about the correct measure and kind of punishment to be inflicted and forgiveness to be shown; (13) in recognizing and appreciating the truth; (14) in relieving the subjects at the outbreak of famine by reducing the Khiraj and Jizya and by further advancing loans and by completely abolishing the khiraj and the Jizya if the famine grows rigorous and by directing the nobility to undertake to feed as many of the poor as possible; (15) in not giving high offices of responsiblity to men of low origin....."

The above extracts show that the Jizya as a tax was really a blessing. For by paying a few tankas the Hindus became Zimmi (the protected) and enjoyed all the privileges which protected people have ever enjoyed under the most tolerant rule in any part of the world. In fact, this may account for the numerical superiorty and continued prosperity of the Hindus in many parts of India, particularly in Hindustan or the Gangetic valley which contained centres of Islamic rule and culture like Delhi, Agra, Lucknow and Jaunpur. Further, it is clear that the Jizya was not an irrevocable and inflexible tax. Barani implies that the Jizya could be abolished like every other tax to meet certain contingencies and that the amount of the Jizya might vary according to circumstances. A study of the Jizya will show that it was not exacted with regularity, or rigour; and that not infrequently it was allowed to lapse and was not collected as a separate tax, though not formally abolished by the state.

The above extracts also show that the Muslim rulers did not as a rule exert themselves to set up what the orthodox considered as Islamic rule and made no efforts in the true sense of the term to propagate Islam and humiliate paganism, else Ziya-ud-din Barani would not have been so bitter. Obviously, they did not pursue the ways of Mahmud of Ghazni and did not like always to identify themselves with him - a fact which embittered and disappointed the orthodox historian. His views embodied in the *Fatawa-i-Jahandari* have been compared with those of Mawerdi and Abul Fazl. This has led us to the conclusion that the Muslim rulers of India did not uniformly and consistently act to any set ideals and were not bound down by any theories. The greatest of them were like true statesmen opportunists and were swayed by circumstances being anxious to avoid offending any party much less the party of the orthodox—that counted. Some would have said like Napoleon, 'I am the child of the revolution' and many would have endorsed what Ala-ud-din Khalji is known to have confessed, "I am born of Muslim stock I know not what Islam is. I do what is best for my country and people."

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MIR'AT-I-SIKANDARI—ITS DATE OF COMPOSITION

M. I. DAR

It has been generally believed on the basis of a statement made by the author of the *Mir'at-i-Ahmadi* that the *Mir'at-i-Sikandari* was compiled forty years after the fall of the Gujarat sultanate that is, in the year 1020 A.H. The accuracy of this statement has never been challenged and scholars like Rieu and Ethe have accepted it. At the end of a copy of the *Mir'at-i-Sikandari* in the Bodleian library the date of its completion has been given as 1022 A.H. Recently two scholars Dr. M. Abdullah Chaghtai and Professor C. H. Shaykh who evinced a keen interest in the contents of this book also accepted the year 1020 A. H. as the date of its composition. Dr. Chaghtai contributed an article on "A manuscript of the *Mira't-i-Sikandari*". During his investigation of some of the oldest manuscripts of this work, he discovered that they did not contain any reference to two works bearing the title *Tarikh-i-Muzaffar Shahi* which are clearly mentioned in the printed editions and can also be traced in some of the manuscripts. Strangely enough, these scholars did not question the generally accepted statement concerning the date when the *Mir'at-i-Sikandari* was compiled. But my faith in the validity of the statement was shaken by Firishta who mentions the author of the *Mir'at-i-Sikandari* in his chapter on the history of Gujarat. According to his own admission Firishta presented his history to Ibrahim 'Adil Shah of Bijapur in 1015 A.H. Perhaps it may be argued that his reference to Shaykh Sikandar was a later addition such an assertion is unwarranted. I started afresh the study of its contents which convinced me that the *Mir'at-i-Sikandari* was written in the life-time of Akbar and not six years after his death as is generally believed by scholars.

There is some internal evidence bearing on his subject. The *Mir'at* ends with a mention of suicide committed by Sultan Muzaffar III of Gujarat in 1000 A.H.—a fact which signalised the final collapse of the Sultanate. Evidently this is the last historical incident mentioned in the *Mir'at* with one exception. It is well-known to students of Indian History that Akbar's religious policy was disliked by some highly placed officers like Khan-i-Azam Aziz Mirza. After the death of Sultan Muzaffar when the conditions became settled in Gujarat, Khan-i-Azam was summoned to the Imperial Court but he evaded the summons and having resigned he sailed for Mecca. In highly eulogistic terms, the author of the *Mir'at*[1] speaks of Aziz Mirza's act of renunciation in resigning the governorship of a province like Gujarat and proceeding to Mecca with the object of performing the pilgrimage. It was in the month of Rajab, 1001 A.H., that Aziz Mirza left Gujarat for Hejaz. As an indication of the high regard which the author of the *Mir'at* had for the outgoing governor he compares his act of self-renunciation with that of the great saint Sultan Ibrahim ibn Adham who had preferred voluntary poverty to kingly life. But this sudden departure of Aziz Mirza provoked very unfavourable reactions at the Emperor's court. Abul Fadl's unkindly reference to this incident in the *Akbarnama*[2] is a clear indication of the master's

(1) Deccan College Research Institute Bulletin Volume 4

(2) Tarikh-i-Firishta Vol. II P. 198.

(1) Mirat-i-Sikandari Page 384

(2) Akbar Nama Vol. III (English translation) p. 979-981

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indignation. Further, in the first volume of *Insha-i-Abul Fadl*,[1] there is a strongly worded letter addressed to Aziz Mirza. The Emperor rebukes him for his impertinence in following the particular course without obtaining the permission of his mother (Jiji) and of Akbar. Assuming that the Mirza acted under the impulse of divine call the emperor failed to understand the Mirza's "plunging his wife and children into the perilous sea". The last part of the letter contains an impassioned plea to the Mirza to return to India. We are told by Khafi Khan that Aziz Mirza gave[2] a very harsh reply to the emperor's letter. Later on, however, the Mirza returned to India in the beginning of the year[3] 1003 A.H. He was not only received into the emperor's favour but according to Badauni[4] he became a great champion of the Divine Faith of Akbar. From the above account it becomes clear that the author of the *Mir'at* and Abul Fadl hold views diametrically opposed to each other, concerning the departure of Aziz Mirza for Mecca. According to one, it was supposed to be a meritorious act while according to the other it was an act of impertinence on the part of Khan-i-Azam. Moreover Abul Fadl mentions the favour conferred by Akbar upon Aziz Mirza after his return from Mecca, while the author of the *Mir'at* does not refer to his return to India and his subsequent career. This fact provides a cogent reason for one to think that the *Mir'at-i-Sikandari* must have been compiled at a time, that is, about the year 1002-1003 A.H. when Aziz Mirza was still in Hejaz. Otherwise, it is difficult to explain the absence of any reference in the *Mir'at* to Aziz Mirza's return and his changed attitude towards the religious policy of Akbar, in case the *Mir'at* is assumed to have been composed in 1020 A H.

Abul Fadl had completed his Akbarnama about 1006 A.H. and his account of Humayun's campaign against Bahadurshah and Akbar's conquest of Gujarat must have been utilised, as Firishta and Hajji Dabir have done, by the author of the *Mir'at* if we accept 1020 A.H. as the date of its composition. Apparently Firishta had no reason to disagree with Abul Fadl and in fact, as he tells us he has incorporated in his book a summary of Abul Fadl's account of Akbar, but Hajji Dabir who cherished an unbounded regard for the sultans of Gujarat, criticised some of the statements of Abul Fadl. Firishta and Hajji Dabir who compiled their works after Abul Fadl made use of the *Akbarnama* though for different purposes. But *Mir'at-i-Sikandari* does not refer to Abul Fadl or the *Akbarnama*. Is it not really strange that the author of the *Mir'at* should omit to mention the *Akbarnama* as one of the sources for giving a description of the struggle between Humayun and Bahadurshah and of Akbar's annexation of Gujarat? He has mainly relied upon information obtained from local sources and his father who acted as librarian for Humayun during the latter's stay in Gujarat. That he could have completely ignored the *Akbarnama* is untenable. Thus we may conclude that the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* must have been compiled earlier than the *Akbarnama*.

It was a general practice of Mughal emperors that after their death, they were remembered with titles, anticipating divine forgiveness, e.g., Babur was referred to as Firdaus Makani (having paradise

(1) Insha-i-Abul Fadl Vol I (Lahore edition) pp 50, 51.
(2) Muntakhab ut-Lubab Vol. I pp. 202.
(3) Maathir ul-Umara Vol. I 680;
(4) Muntakhab ul-Tawarikh Vol. II (English translation) pp. 412.

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as his abode) and Humayun as Jannat Ashyani. Similarly the title Arsh Ashyani was used for Akbar after his death. Let us now turn to the *Mir'at-i- Sikandari* and try to find out whether the emperor Akbar is referred to as 'Arsh Ashyani even once. Before we point out the several places in the *Mir'at* where Akbar has been mentioned, it would be proper for us to emphasize the fact that Babur has been mentioned as Firdaus Makani on pages 204 and 236 and similarly Humayun as Janat Ashyani on pages 236, 243, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 253, 260 and 337. It is only once that Akbar has been mentioned with a number of honorific titles, e.g., "the king with Jamshidlike dignity, Saturn-like loftiness, Jupiter-like auspiciousness and moon-like countenance, Jalalud Din Muhammed Akbar Padshah." Five times he is referred to as Padshah-i-Jamjah, four times as Bandagan-i-Padshahi, once as Bandagan-i-Padshah, twice as Hadrat-i-Padshah and once as In Hadrat (His Majesty). Titles like Bandagan-i-Padshah clearly indcate that Akbar was still alive when the *Mir'at-i-Sikandari* was composed. Further, the complete absence of the title Arsh Ashyani in the *Mir'at* strengthens our belief that it must have been written in the life-time of Akbar.

Internal evidence, is further strengthened by Firishta's reference to Shaykh Sikandar in his *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi*. In the fourth Maqale of the second volume of his history which is devoted to an account of the independent sultans of Gujarat, Firishta refers to the "history of the kings of Gujarat" by Shaykh Sikandar in connection with the conversion to Islam of Rao Mandalik of Saurashtra. Professor M.S. Commissariat [1] is of opinion that the story related by Sikandar that the Rao was converted, after his arrival at Ahmedabad, during a visit to the saintly Shah Alam, has evidently been introduced by the historian to glorify the Bukhari Sayyids. In view of this clear statement of Firishta about Shaykh Sikandar, it would be incorrect to say that the *Mi'rat-i-Sikandari* was composed in 1020 A.H.

That Hajji Dabir wrote his *Arabic History of Gujarat* after the compilation of the *Mir'at-i-Sikandari* is amply borne out by the several references which he has made to the *Mir'at*. Hajji Dabir did not only make use of the *Akbarnama* but also criticised some statements of Abul Fadl. The last date mentioned in the *Arabic History* is the year 1014 A.H. and since 1020 A.H. is generally accepted as the date of composition of the *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, the late Sir Denison Ross naturally inferred that the *Arabic History* must have been completed after the year 1020 A.H., but as we have pointed out above, there is hardly any justification for holding the view that the *Mir'at* was composed in 1020 A.H. Besides the contents of the *Arabic History of Gujarat* lead us to believe that this work was also written in the life-time of Akbar. On several occasions Hajji Dabir has mentioned Akbar as "the Sultan of India" and not even once he refers to Akbar as Arsh Ashyani. Before Jehangir's accession to the throne, he was known as Sultan Salim. Hajji Dabir also mentions him as Sultan Salim[2]— a fact which is indicative of his writing the Arabic History at a time when Jehangir was still a prince.

On the basis of internal evidence gleaned from the *Mir'at-i-Sikandari* itself and of further evidence of Firishta and Hajji Dabir, we feel inclined to maintain that the *Mir'at-i-Sikandari* was composed in the life-time of Akbar and not in 1020 A.H. as is generally believed by scholars.

(1) History of Gujarat Vol. I pp. 168.
(2) Arabic History of India Vol. III pp. 603.

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BUDDHISM IN TAMIL COUNTRY IN THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

Subsequent to the eight century, Buddhism appears to have begun to decline in South India, probably because of the attacks of Hindu revivalists, leaders of the Bhakti movement and the philosophers like Shankarcharya.[5] However there is no evidence to show that there was any persecution of the Buddhists by the rulers in South India. But Buddhism lost much of its popularity and individuality. The activities of the Buddhists became apparently confined to a few places in South India, where there continued to be in existence some monasteries. This is well borne out by the inscriptions and literature of the subsequent period.

Though according to the *Guruparamparai* the Buddhist temple at Nagapattinam was the object of the attack and plunder by Tirumangai Alvar yet the place continued to be a Buddhist centre during the days of the imperial Colas. Towards the end of the eleventh century there were two Buddhist temples at the place called respectively Rajarajapperumpalli, (also called Sri Sailendra Cudamani Varmavihara,) and Rajendra Solapperunmpalli, evidently after Rajaraja the Great and his son Rajendra Gangaikonda Cola. Rajaraja is said to have permitted Cudamanivarman, king of Kataha to build a Buddhist shrine at Nagapattinam to which he himself made a grant of the village of Anaimangalam. The construction of the temple appears to have been begun by Cudamanivarman before the 21st year of the reign of Rajaraja I, and was completed by his son Maravijayottungavarman. In the Tamil portion of the larger Leiden grant which records the above details the temple is referred to as 'being built' while the Sanskrit portion which is a later addition to the grant the temple is mentioned as 'having been built' by Maravijayottungavarman in the name of his father Cudamanivarman. In the 20th year of the reign of Kulottunga I (1090 A. D.) grants were made to both of them at the suggestion of the ruler of Kidaram[6]. Further it is of interest to note that according to Burmese accounts a ruler of Pagan is said to have converted a Cola prince to Buddhism and married his daughter. Unfortunately Tamil epigraphy and literature are silent about it[7]. Recently a number of bronze images of the Buddha have been secured from Nagapattinam and the surrounding area by the Government Museum, Madras. They are said to belong to different centuries ranging from the 9th to the 13th. Some of the images bear inscriptions on the pedestal, and one among such images may be mentioned here. A Tamil inscription of the 12th or early 13th century, found written on the pedestal of an image reads as follows :—*Svastisri Agama-pandita Uyyakondanayaka.* This would show that towards the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century, there was a Buddhist monastery at the place[8].

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5. Ibid. p. 129.
6. Leyden grant. See *Archaeological Survey of Southern India* IV. pp. 224-27
7. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri : *The Colas,* II. p. 40.
8. *Ind. Ant.* VII pp. 225-6.

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Buddhism appears to have been flourishing in a few places in the Telugu and Karnataka regions also during the period. The Velanadw ruler Coda II seems to have been the patron of a group of Buddhist teachers. The *stupa* of Amaravati continued to be in a fairly good state of preservation. A Buddhist vihara is said to have been constructed in Belugami [9] in 1055, while a record in the Shikapur taluk of A. D. 1098 mentions a Buddha temple [10]. Again in an epigraph of the Chikkanayakanahalli taluq dated A. D. 1181 mention is made of the Bauddha samaya along with those of Maheswara Vaisnava and Arhat [11].

In the Vijayanagar period Buddhism continued to be in a flourishing condition in some places in South India such as Kancipuram, Nagapattinam and Kalavati. Kancipuram is mentioned as a centre of Buddhism in the Nagakrtagama, a poetical work of the Javanese poet, Prapanca composed in 1365. Unlike the numerous poems that are based on the Indian epics, the *Nagakrtagama* describes the life and times of Hayam Wuruk the great king of Majapaihit (1350-89). While describing that king Hayam Wuruk was held in esteem by people in other lands, the poet speaks of Kancipuram as follows [12]:

"All panditas of other lands compose *prasastis* on His Majesty the prince. The monk Buddhaditya composed a *thcgavali* (*prasasti*) on him in many *slokas*. His place of res.dence is in Sadvihara called Kancipura in Jambudvip aand the Brahmin named Mutali Sahrdaya composed a *prasasti* in correct *slokas*". The mention of a monk called Buddhaditya as a resident of Sadvihara also called Kancipura shows that Buddhism and Buddhist institutions were flourishing in the city about 1365, the date of the composition of the *Nagakrtagama*. Further it is interesting to note that a small record engraved in characters of the 15th century on a stone planted in the village of Navalur in the Chingleput district states that the village was the *palliccandam* of Kaccikku Nayakkar of Buddha Kancipuram. On the back of the stone is engraved the Buddhist symbol of a dharmacakra [13]. Mention has been made earlier of some Buddhist images found at Kancipuram. Obviously it was for the worship of one such Buddha image called Kaccikku Nayakkar that the village of Navalur was endowed as a *palliccandam*. [14] This really proves that Kancipuram continued to be a centre of Buddhist activity even in the 14th and 15th centuries.

Like Kancipuram Nagapattinam was an important Buddhist centre in the 15th century. This is borne out by the Kalyani inscriptions which record that the place was visited by some Buddhist priests from Pegu. The relevant portion in the inscriptions as translated reads as follows:— "The Theras and Chitraduta however travelled on foot to Nagapattana and there visited the site of Padarikarama monastery and worshiped the image of the Buddha in a cave

9. *Ep. Car.* VII. Sk. 170.
10. *Ibid.* Sk. 106.
11. *Ibid.* XII. Ck. 13.
12. Kern ; *Verspreide Geschiften*, VIII, p. 114, Zang, 93 sl.i.
13. MER. 13 of 34-5.
14. *Ibid. Rep.* for 1935, para 56.

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constructed by the command of the Maharaja of Cinadesa on the spot, on the sea-shore, where the holy tooth relic was deposited in the course of its transit to Lankadvipa in the charge of Dandakumara and Hemamala who were husband and wife"[15]. From the reference quoted above it is evident that the Buddhist shrines constructed during the Cola period continued in existence in the 15th century. On account of the belief that it was constructed by a Chinese king it was usually called in later times as the Chinese Pagoda. It was also known as the *Puduveligopuram*, the old Pagoda and the black Pagoda. In the course of the subsequent period Nagapattinam lost its importance as a Buddhist centre. In the middle of the second half of the last century the Jesuit Fathers of the St. Joseph's college at the place demolished the remnants of the two Buddhist temples there and used the materials for the construction of their college [16].

The existence of Buddhism in the region round about Kumbhakonam in the Tanjore district so late as 1580 is indicated by an inscription of the time of Sevappa Nayaka of Tanjore. The record under reference is dated in the cyclic year Vikrama corresponding to A. D 1580 and states that the *mahajanas* of Tirumalairajapuram had to cut a channel through the land belonging to Tittamayirunda Nayakkar of the Buddha temple at Tiruvalandurai and therefore gave in campensation therefor a piece of land $2\frac{3}{4}$ *veli* in extent at Tirumalairajapuram .[17] In the temples at Tiruvalanjuli and Pattisvaram both within a short distance from Kumbhakonam are found the images of the Buddha. Besides a Buddha image within the Ganesa temple at Kumbhakonam itself is now mistaken for that of Bhargavarsi. All these also point to the prevalence of the Buddhist religion in the heart of the Tamil country even so late as the end of the 16th century.

It appears that Buddhism flourished in some places in the Karnataka country also in the 15th and 16th centuries. An inscription in the Belur Taluk dated A. D. 1397 describe Kesava the Lord of the place as one that was worshipped by the Saivas as Siva, by the Vedantins as Brahma, by the Bauddhas as Buddha, by the Naiyayikas as Kartta, by the Jains as Arhat and by the Mimasakas as Karma[18]

Again an inscription of A. D. 1533 from the Tiptur taluk of the Mysore state mentions a Buddhist town called Kalavati near the Bhairava hill [19]. The reference to the Buddhist town is of great interest on account of its late date. But it is difficult to locate the place. In the Kurnul district is a mountain peak called the Bairani Konda in the Nallamalai range. If the Bhairava hill mentioned in the inscription can be identified with the Bairani Konda it is possible that Kalavati was in the Kurnul district.

15. *Ind. Ant.* XXII, p. 45.
16. *Ibid.* VII. pp. 224-27.
17. 292 of 1927; *Rep.*, para 94.
18. *E.C.* V. B 1·3
19. *E.C.* XII. Tp. 1.

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SECTION IV

MUGHAL INDIA

1526-1764 A.D.

President :

DR. P. M. JOSHI

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SECTION IV.

MUGHAL INDIA. 1526 — 1764.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

P. M. JOSHI.

Friends,

It is as a willing and grateful victim of convention that I speak to you to-day. I am thankful to the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress for having elected me to preside over this Section, and let me lighten your hearts by stating that I am not going to inflict a long discourse on you. The temptation was of course there. When else could I, a mere tyro, get an opportunity of having at my mercy such a learned assembly—the very quintessence of Indian Historical scholarship—as my victims ?

Many aspects of the later mediaeval period of Indian History have been touched upon and expounded by my able predecessors who have presided over this Section. I, in my turn, more thinking aloud than launching on a lecture, should like to dwell on certain points which to my mind deserve study. In doing so I need not go into the metaphysical aspect or the philosophical background of history. The very limitations of a Sectional president's duties prevent me from rambling into these higher planes. My task, therefore, is all the easier because of these considerations and limitations.

The dominant feature of our period seems to me to be the rise of the idea of political unity for the first time in Indian History after, shall I say, Ashoka. The Mughals starting from the great Akbar down to Aurangzeb were to my mind actuated by this one idea of bringing the whole of India under one political control and establishing Mughal peace which in course of time gave place to Pax Brittanica. The beginnings of the latter

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principle also are to be found in the closing years of our period which thus consists of two main forces, the native or indigenous Mughal Imperialism and the foreign, British. The third period of unity has dawned on us only recently. Are we going to use it to make an advance over the first two and evolve an idea of Indian nationality first and fore most or are we going to sacrifice our supreme opp-- ortunity at the alter of linguism ? But I am going on to thin ice also forbidden, because these considerations do not form a part of our study proper.

The Mughal Empire has been studied in detail in all its aspects by our scholars. Their attention will no doubt also turn to British rule and its achievements. During the course of the British power's bid to take over the sovereignty of India from the Mughals it had to meet another claimant, the Marathas. Towards the close of our period these three empires came into conflict and the British were finally able to emerge supreme and establish a regime in India unique in its history.

For the proper study of our period, therefore, we must have at our disposal sources relating to the history of the Mughal Empire, the rise of the British power in our country and the Maratha Kingdom of Shivaji which later grew into the Maratha confederacy. So far as Maratha History and its bearing on the whole field of Indian History is concerned the Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal of Poona and the Rajwade Samshodhan Mandal, Dhulia have done tremendously great work and I am glad to find that one of the Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal's very active members, indeed the very life and soul of that institution is guiding our deliberations at this our eleventh Session. For the contribution that the Mandal has made in making available through its journal and other publications material dealing with various aspects of Maratha history in particular and Indian History in general, no tribute can be too great or too fulsome and I am happy to be in a position to offer it publicly on so auspicious an occasion. The quiet and

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unostentatious way in which the Mandal has done its work all these years must have earned the respect and admiration of scholars and students of Indian History. May the Mandal do greater work in future and may its shadow never grow less.

But to go back to my subject. Though the three great powers mentioned a little while ago have been studied by scholars, there were other and lesser forces or kingdoms in the country during our period. Of these Gujarat is worked upon; Bengal has been studied in the mangnificent volumes recently published. The Southern Kingdoms, *viz.* Tanjore and Madura have also been dealt with. A New History of the Marathas is about to be completed. But a systematic study of Muslim rule in the Deccan is yet to take place. Attempts are being made and have been made in this direction and I understand that the Osmania University is once again likely to take up vigorously its scheme for a comprehensive history of the Deccan.

Side by side with this work must go on the work of bringing to light more and more sources. With this idea in mind, I had requested some friends to contribute papers to this Session and I am glad to find that one friend has responded to my appeal and has given us a paper on some new sources of Gujarat history.

In this connection I have particularly in mind the Muslim Kingdoms of the Deccan. Very scanty material exists about the Baridshahi Sultanate of Bidar and the Imadshahi of Berar. The Barids got a magnificent legacy in the library attached to the Madrasa founded by Mahmud Gavan at Bidar. What happened to this collection? I should like scholars working on Deccan Muslim history to find out more information on this point. I would also urge on them to bring to light farmans and other state documents connected with these kingdoms. The same thing holds good about the Faruqis of Khandesh also. I hope local scholars will pursue this matter in earnest. I feel that a definite attempt was being made in the Deccan to evolve a culture acceptable and common to all and study of this will amply compensate the labour and effort involved in it.

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This brings me to the point on which I wanted to lay great stress, *viz.* Social and economic history. It is only an understanding of the political, religious, social, economic and cultural forces in the country during our period that will give us a proper overall picture of our history. The most important source material for building up such a structure is the accounts of European travellers and the Factory records and correspondence of the English, Dutch, Portuguese, French and Danish trading companies. The vast material that they provide has not been utilised to the fullest extent and I particularly urge upon our scholars to utilise this and try to bring to light more and more of it. The latter work properly belongs to the various provincial Governments and the Government of India and I have no doubt they will arrange to acquire this valuable source material. One warning to our scholars when they publish material from European sources; they should make sure that it has not been published before. I have here in mind a Dutch narrative published in one of our journals; this was already published and edited in a very competent manner in a book published nine years previously !

Some of the most important source material for our period, material which contains a wealth of information about social, economic and political matters and which is so necessary a supplement to the chronicles, letters, diaries, histories, farmans epigraphs etc., is available to us. I refer to the accounts of European travellers from the days of Vasco da Gama onwards. Let our research institutions and our University and other libraries have complete sets of this travel material. As one who has utilised this quite a lot I can assure it is a veritable El Dorado. These travellers came as advance guards of Imperialistic powers, their accounts were assidously studied by their respective authorities for a true picture of India and in them we are "able to see ourselves as others see us".

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SOME SIDE-LIGHTS ON THE CAREER OF RAJA BISHAN SINGH KACHHWAH OF AMBER

K. R. QANUNGO.

Bishan Singhji, known as Chima Bahadur during his childhood was born of a Chauhan wife of Kunwar Kishan Singhji, son and heir-apparent of Maharajah Rajsinghji, in the year 1672. His boyhood passed under canvas in the camp of Ramsinghji at Jamrud where he had a few years after succeeded Maharajah Jaswant Singh as *thanadar*. Kunwar Kishan Singhji died in the Deccan fighting against the Marathas in 1682 leaving Bishan Singhji as the heir to the *gaddi* of Amber. Aurangzib bestowed a *mansab* of five hundred on Bishan Singhji, a boy of ten, with an appointment at Jalalabad on the other side of the Khyber pass. This was a dubious gift and none knew better its fatal character than the old Ramsinghji. Aurangzib had an eye on the rich Kachhwah territory, and he thought that the annexation of Amber could only make the annexation of Marwar a success. The appointment of Ramsinghji to Jamrud had been the first and the posting of Bishan Singhji at Jalalabad a second move calculated to implement his sinister policy. However, Ramsinghji summoned from Malpura the brave Khangawat chief, Harisinghji to proceed to Jalalabad as the *ataliq* of his grandson.

We have fourteen news-sheets dealing with early career of Bishan Singhji from end of 1682 to the middle of August 1684 as a Mughal mansabdar at Jalalabad attached to the command of Nawab Amir Khan, subahdar of Kabul. Kunwar Bishan Singhji travelled from Jamrud through Khyber pass under the escort of Nur Muhammad Khan and other tribal *maliks* and reached the neighbourhood of Jalalabad in January 1683. The Rajput camp about 3 or 4 miles from Jalalabad was a miniature Amber palace of canvas having its *raoti* (chief's residence) in the middle of the inner courtyard; the *diwan-khana* at the entrance to the inner courtyard from the outer courtyard; and the *deori* (chief waiting tent and main guardroom) opening to the main gate. Along with it was the usual secretariat staff of diwan, treasurer, mutasaddis besides a brahmin astrologer and a Persian tutor. Religious devotion, as we read in these news-sheets from the Prince's camp to his grandfather, formed an integral part of the daily life of this boy of ten who had to undergo routine duties with the precision of drill. It occurs almost in every daily report :

"Kumarjiu rises early in the morning... *jaldhari* brings water and *dantun*; ...khidmatgars set up a *chayabun* (worship-tent)..... after ablutions the Prince sits there for sometime counting his beads (*jap-i-mala* kardand)". A Persian tutor, Akhund Sidhari, gave lessons generally in the afternoon in Persian. The Prince read *Gulistan* with him and practised penmanship in Persian. But even in his mature age Bishan Singhji did not learn enough Persian for reading or writing Persian letters. As regards the military training the Prince practised archery by shooting at *khak-tuda* (dummies), and also javelin throwing. The game of *Ganjifa* (chess), and also hunting were among the favourite diversions allowed to the Prince. His official duties were to receive

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the salute every morning, give formal interviews to tribal chiefs, and to pay ceremonial visits to Nawab Amir Khan occasionally and receive return visits. We also read how many patridges he killed in a day's hunt and how he distributed the game among his chiefs. Some letters from the tribal chiefs; e.g., one from Dariya Khan reveal that Aurangzib's bigotry had not set ablaze the flame of fanaticism among the Pathans; one of them writes to Prince's ataliq, *az in taraf Ram Ram* (i.e. greetings from this side), though *Ram Ram* had been banished from the imperial court by a royal edict much earlier. However, in the last week of February 1684 Bishan Singhji was transferred from Jalalabad to Jamrud.

In November 1685 Aurangzeb sent an imperial farman recalling Ramsinghji and Bishan Singhji to the Deccan. Ramsinghji summoned to his side Hari Singh Khangarwat, who had resigned his service on account of some differences. Hari Singh advised Ramsinghji not to entrust the only hope of Amber to the close proximity of the wily Emperor. As a punishment both of them were transferred to Kohat and some of their jagirs resumed. Maharajah Ramsinghji died early in April 1688 at Kohat, and Harisinghji, the *ataliq* of Bishan Singhji, proclaimed his ward as Rajah. At this time Rajaram Jat had put an end to the imperial authority in the countryside of subah Agra and even burnt the bones of Akbar at Sikandra. Prince Bidar Bakht and Khan-i-Jahan Kokaltash with their large armies were helpless against the Jats. Rajah Bishan Singhji was allowed to leave Kohat for Mathura on the execution of agreement that he would subdue the Jats in six months,—a task which the Mughal empire could not accomplish even in six decades.

Corruption, intrigue and disloyalty beset the *gaddi* of Amber at the accession of Bishan Singhji. Against the Rajah's ataliq and prime minister Hari Singhji was formed a clique of old officials headed by Saha Ramchand (the dewan) and Sanghi Devidas (ex-deputy wazir), and powerfully aided by Kesho Rai, Amber vakil with the imperial court. *Chohani mata*, mother of Bishan Singhji, acted as regent as the Rajah was not allowed any preparatory leave to visit Amber even after his accession. One lakh of rupees had to be spent in bribes and presents among the high Muslims grandees at Court for confirming the Rajah's accession and securing a prompt despatch of the *sanad*. Ramchand and Sanghi Devidas were in league with Safi Khan, subahdar of Ajmer, and with the provincial dewan of subah Agra.

The military situation in the Agra province was desperate when Rajah Bishan Singhji reached Mathura to reinforce Prince Bidar Bakht, who had begun the siege of Sonkh (sixteen miles southwest of Mathura after the death of Rajaram Jat in July 1688. The whole countryside bounded by the Jamuna on the east, middle stretch of the Chambal from Dholpur to Kerauli on the south, from Delhi to Alwar on the north and the borders of Amber and Harawati on the west was in full revolt. To the east of the Jamuna the whole of the middle Doab from Aligarh and Khurja to Mahaban Etah had become a lost possession to the Mughal government. Even in Mathura no place was considered safe except the Jama masjid, which had been turned into an arsenal by the Mughal army. The imperial highways from Dohlpur

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to Delhi and from Agra to Ajmer via Hinduan and Biyana had become Khyber and Bolan passes which could be traversed only under the writs of Jat, Naruka, Panwar, Gujar and Meo rebels. In the year 1688, the Rajah's army under Harisinghji temporarily checked the Jat rebels by inflicting a defeat on them somewhere near Gokul. The great Mughal general Khan-i-jahan Kokaltash did not venture to travel from Mathura to Hodal except under the escort of Rajput troops commanded by Harisinghji. In the year 1689 the Mughal army that had gone to besiege Sinsini became itself besieged, and had to be fed by armed convoys from Mathura. The greater part of the loss and exertions in the siege of Sinsini was borne by the Rajah's troops and yet Prince Bidar Bakht made false complaints against the Rajah. But Aurangzib understood business. He appointed Bishan Singhji *faujdar* of Mathura *vice* Sipahdar Khan, promoted to the subahdari of Agra in May 1689; and further promised to the Rajah the zamindari of Sinsini, which was yet a far cry. Along with this came a paper charity in the form of *ijarah* of eighteen mahals in sarkar Koel (Aligarh) and sarkar Mathura with a total revenue of thirty crores of dams, out of which not a single *dam* had reached the treasury during the last seven years. The position of a Hindu chief as the *faujdar* of Islamabad-Mathura in the Alamgirshahi regime was an unenviable one. All his subordinates were little Aurangzibs espying on the Rajah and his *peshkar* Hari Singhji. But the proud heir to fame of Mansingh and Mirza Rajah Jaisingh rose equal to the occasion.

During the faujdarship of the Rajah prices were reported tobe rising high. A statement meant for despatch to the court perhaps reads as follows:—

Wheat	per	rupee	(Alamgirshahi)	—31 seers
Gram	,,	,,	,,	—36 seers
Barley	,,	,,	,,	—1 maund 7 seers
Pulses (Urad)	,,	,,	,,	—35 seers
Mung	,,	,,	,,	—22 seers
Moth	,,	,,	,,	—30 seers
Ghee	,,	,,	,,	—3½ seers
Oil	,,	,,	,,	— 9¼ seers
Rice	,,	,,	,,	—18 seers,

In the countryside where war was going on things sold no doubt at famine price, even if available, on account of the *scorched earth* policy of the Jats.

In the beginning of the year 1690, Rajah Bishan Singhji's general Harisinghji undertook a campaign against the redoubtable Jat chief Amar Singh of Kher (16 miles north north west of Aligarh). Eight miles due east of Kher, Amar Singh had built another fort named Rah (modern Rait)to serve a link of communication with the Jat rebels of Khurja and Chandausi. The Kachhwah army after a stiff fight captured both the forts and drove Amar Singh to take refuge with Nanda Jat who held a lawless sway over the tract from Hathras and Mudsan to Mahaban opposite Mathura. Amar Singh's power was completely broken and his sons surrendered to the Rajah's general. His two lieutenants Birju and Taula with their families were captured at the village of Arania in pargana Khurja after a hot chase.

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Meanwhile Sinsini had fallen and Prince Bidar Bakht been recalled to the Deccan leaving the work of subjugation of the Jats to Rajah Bishan Singhji. On account of some false allegations made by the Dewans of Agra and Ajmer coupled with renewed depradations of the Jats on the Imperial highway during the absence of the Rajah's general-brought upon the poor Rajah a censure and reduction of his rank by 500 zat and one thousand sawar. But there was no escape from the grip of Aurangzib, who made the Rajah fight the Jats sometime by cajolery and more often by threat. After his demotion the Rajah was consoled with a promise that the zamindari of all the Jat mahals would be given to him, and by an *inam* of one lakh twentyfive thousand rupees to equip his army for the Jat campaign. Recruiting went on briskly; two agents Mir Abdullah and Lakshmichand enlisted 1200 sawars and two thousand footmen in twenty days from Agra and Bayana at the rate of a daily pay of four annas per sawar and one anna per footman.

The Kachhwah army with the imperial auxiliaries and artillery under the command of Rajah Bishan Singh's general, Harisingh Khangarwat, remained constantly in the field fighting against the rebels of subah Agra on both sides of the river Jamuna for five long years from 1690 to 1695.

The Kachhwah army waged a strenuous campaign for the recovery of the immediate neighbourhood of Agra, Bayana, Khanwa, Dholpur, Jagnair and other parganas. Its main objective was to dispose of the following fugitive Jat chiefs who went into hiding and stirred up troubles in the Agra district.

(1) Lodha, Bukna and others expelled from Sogor
(2) Churaman, Aniram and others expelled from Sinsini
(3) Nana and sons of Alia Jat expelled from Abair
(4) Jagman and Banarasi Jat expelled from Saunkh (14 miles southwest of Mathura)
(5) Maujjiya and others expelled from Chinkara (8 miles south of Fathepur-Sikri).

The fugitives were driven after a relentless chase to take shelter in the garhi of Ratanpur on the Chambal. The garhi of Ratanpur fell but the birds had flown away south of the Chambal first week of June 1694.

There was no rest for Rajah Bishan Singhji, who was ordered immediately to move his army across the Jamuna to clear the Doab of the rebels in the beginning of the year 1695. Nanda Jat had built a formidable fort in the village of Jawar, two miles northwest of the town Mursan and established his authority in the parganas of Mahaban, Jaleswar, Sadabad and Nuh for several years. This fort was besieged in March 1695; but on April 5 1695 Harisinghji was killed while directing an assault. The Rajah now himself took the command, and through the exertions of Gajsingh, son of Hari Singh, it was captured in May 1695. After the death of Harisinghji the Rajah found himself at sea against the Jats. So Prince Muazzam was appointed subahdar of Agra to deal with the Jat revolt with the Rajah as his auxiliary. When Muazzam was transferred to Kabul, Rajah Bishan Singhji accompanied him to Afghanistan. There he died at Daibund on December 19, 1699.

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HISTORICAL WORKS IN SANSKRIT IN LATER MEDIEVAL INDIA (1526-1764)

A. D. PUSALKAR

The general belief that Mahomedan invasions materially affected the development of Sanskrit Literature is hardly borne out by facts. For one thing, decadence, lack of creative genius and originality, patternisation, etc. which characterise Sanskrit Literature after the tenth century had already made their mark long before the Mahomedans came in. For another, the production in quantity during the period of Mahomedan domination compares favourably with the earlier output. Though Sanskrit Literature in the North could be said to a certain degree to have languished for a time due to Mahomedan incursions and the consequent unsettled state of the country mainly for want of royal patronage and encouragement, South India, which was comparatively free from such disturbances apparently enjoyed complete peace under the Hindu rulers. Royal patronage was extended to learned arts, and scholars in traditional lore were encouraged. Vijayanagar, Tanjore, Mysore, Madura, etc stand out preeminently as centres which fostered Sanskrit learning in the South, while Mithila and Benares in the North produced Sanskrit works in different branches.

As the survey of all branches of Sanskrit Literature, would require more time and space, on account of the hundreds of works turned out, the subject of the investigation has been confined to historical works only. Before dealing with the works it would be better to offer some introductory remarks about the historical works in Sanskrit.

It is indeed curious that despite its achievements in other branches as also its abundance in intellect, India failed to produce any historical works in the modern sense. The so-called historical Kavyas are more poetical works than historical documents. Though dealing ostensibly with historical themes, they are concerned with the poetic, dramatic or romantic possibilities, and consequently are indifferent to chronology, mix divine and human action, believe in magic and miracle, and have deep faith in the incalculable human destiny. Different scholars seek to explain the absence of any clear, consistent and adequate historiography as due to various causes. It is said, for instance, that the idea of composing history aiming at objective accuracy is entirely out of harmony with the spirit of Sanskrit literature and its conception of art with its emphasis on imaginative and impersonalised creation. Thus it is that in historical Kavyas authors cared more for poetic merit than for historical accuracy. Indian mind was little interested in historical incident as such. Then again, according to the Indian view, as presented in the Mahabharata and other works, truth is not mere verbal correctness or objective agreement of words with facts, but that which is beneficial for humanity. Truth is good so far only as it leads to human good. The poet, further, was to concentrate on the creation of aesthetic emotion and the creation of ideals, which he achieved by description, portraying of sentiments, exaggeration of

facts through imagery, etc. It is also likely that it was the firm belief of Indians in the doctrine of Karman that prevented them from taking any realistic and historical survey of the events in the past.

Over fifty works are being described in this paper, and they belong to the Kavya, Campu and drama types of Sanskrit literature. For the sake of convenience these works have been divided under the following heads: (i) Vijayanagara rulers; (ii) Bhonslas of Maharastra; (iii) Nayaks of Tanjore; (iv) Marathas of Tanjore; (v) Mughals; and (vi) Miscellaneous rulers.

(*i*) *Vijayanagara rulers*

Varadambika-Parinaya-Campu by Tirumalamba, daughter of Krsnadeva Raya, who married Aliya Rama Raja, describes the romance of the love and wedding of Varadambika with Acyutaraya. Beginning with a short genealogical account, it describes the exploits of Narasa, his marriage with Obamamba, and the birth of Acyuta. Then follows the birth of Varadamba a princess of Salaga, and the description of the romance of the love and weddidg of Varadambika with Acyutaraya. The work ends with the installation of their son China Venkatadri as Yuvaraja. It is a Campu.

The *Acyutarayabhyudaya* is a poem in 12 cantos by Rajanatha III, son of Kumara Dindima, written at the instance of Acyutaraya. The work traces the descent of the Tuluva dynasty from the moon. The main theme is the birth and main incidents and exploits in the life of Acyuta, who succeeded his brothers Krsnadeva Raya as king of Vijayanagar. It describes the South Indian expedition of Acyuta whose object was the restoration of the Pandya ruler, ousted by the Cera King, to his dominion, and the several places of pilgrimage visited by Acyuta. The poem closes with the siege of Bijapur, defeat of the Sultan, and the king's triumphant march into his capital.

The *Saluvabhyudaya*, a poem by Rajanatha, son of Arunaginatha, describes in 13 cantos, the achievements of Saluva Narasimha and his ancestors. He invaded Kalinga and Dasarna, and conquered the Bahmani Sultan Mahmud. Proceeding northward Saluva conquered the Gajapati kings, and after visiting Benares returned to Candragiri, where he resided for worshipping Visnu at Tirupati. As there is no reference to Narasimha's rule at Vijayanagar, the poem appears to have been completed before about 1480 A. D., when Narasimha was but a viceroy with his headquarters at Candragiri. P. P. S. Sastri, however, ascribes Saluvabhyudaya to Rajanatha, the author of Acyutarayabhudaya which does not seem to be correct.

Sivatattvaratnakara (completed in 1709-10 A. D.) is an encyclopaedic work by Keladi Basavabhupala. Besides valuable information on several topics, it gives a history of the house of Keladi, and a legendary account of the foundation of the city of Vijayanagara by Vidyaranya, and a history of the emperors that ruled there.

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(ii) Bhonslas of Maharastra :

Though mainly describing the lives of Krsna and Radha, the *Radhamadhavavilasacampu* by Jayarama, incidentally pictures the courtlife of Sahaji Bhonsle. The exploits of Sivaji, the founder of the Maratha empire, form the subject matter of the *Sivabharata* by Paramananda. It is a poem in 31 cantos, in the form of a dialogue. *Parnalaparvatagrahanakhyana* in 5 cantos by Jayarama deals with the expedition to and the capture of the Panhala fort. Bhanubhatta or Hari Kavi wrote a historical poem *Sambhurajcarita* in 1684 A. D. on the life of Sambhaji, son of Sivaji. *Rajaramacarita* by Kesava Pandita describes in 5 cantos the life of Rajarama, the second son of Sivaji, and finely depicts the struggle for Maratha independence in Karnataka and Maharastra.

(iii) Nayaka kings of Tanjore :

These works mainly deal with the life of Raghunatha, the greatest of the Nayaka kings *Raghunathabhyudaya* by Ramabhadramba who was probably the court poetess of Raghunatha and not his queen, describes the glory of Raghunatha. Krsnakavi or Krsnadhvarin or Krsna Diksita also known as Ayya Diksita wrote *Raghunathabhupaliya* on poetics in which illustrations in praise of his patron Raghunatha have been given. Govinda Diksita, of Vasistha Gotra was the prime minister of the Tanjore kings Cevappa, Acyuta and Raghunatha. Pious and simple as a Brahmana, his greatness as a statesman is proverbial in South India. He was a versatile scholar accepted as an authority in Dharmasastra, poetics, Vedanta, etc., and was also a patron of learning. His *Sahityasudha* begins with a short account of the achievements of Raghunatha. Yajnanarayana, son of Govinda Diksita, was also patronised by Raghunatha. His *Raghunathavilasa* is a drama in 5 acts glorifying Raghunatha, while in *Raghunathabhupavijaya*, a poem, he refers to the greatness of the Tanjore Nayaka family, and describes Raghunatha's conquest of an island near Ceylon. Yet another protege of Raghunatha was Rajacudamani Diksita, son of Ratnakheta Diksita and Kamaksi, who wrote a poem bearing the name as the preceding work (*Raghunathbhupavijaya*) on his patron. Raghunatha Nayaka himself is credited with the authorship of *Sangitasudha*, an excellent treatise on Hindu music. At the beginning of this work, one of his courtiers is made to narrate the achievements of Raghunatha and his predecessors.

(iv) Maratha kings of Tanjore :

Sahaji and Sarabhoji are the principal rulers about whom we read in the historical works in Sanskrit during this period. *Kosalabhosaliyam* is a poem in 6 cantos by Sesacalapati, who was probably a contemporary and protege of Sahaji. The work purports to give an account of the Ramayana along with that of the Bhosalas in double entendre; but it mainly deals with Sahaji's reign. Gangadhara, a minister of Ekoji (or a protege of Sahaji according to P. P. S. Sastri) wrote *Bhosalavamsavali*, which though expected to give the entire story of the Bhosalas, is concerned with Sahaji alone. A complete genealogical list, however, is given in the work. Cokkanatha, son of Tippadhvari and Narasamba, of Bharadvaja gotra, was another protege of Sahaji.

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His drama *Kantimatiparinaya* describes the marriage of king Sahaji and Kantimati. Sahendravilasa is a poem in 8 cantos by Sridhara Venkatesa (or Venkata Krsna) known also as Ayyaval. It describes the exploits of his patron Sahaji, and is of historical value. Bhuminatha or Nalla Diksita, son of Balacandra of Kausika gotra, and a disciple of Ramabhadra Diksita, was a contemporay of Sridhara Venkatesa. In his *Dharmavijayacampu*, dealing with the life and history of king Sahaji he styles the latter as modern Bhoja. Another work on the life and history of Sahaji is the drama *Srngaramanjarisahajiya* which was staged at the Caitra festival at Tiruvaiyur (Tiruwadi). The author was Appa Diksita or Appa Sastrin or Periya Appa Sastrin, son of Cidambara Diksita, who lived at Kilayur near Tanjore. *Sahavilasagitam* is a poem in 8 cantos by Dhundiraja of Vyasa gotra, son of Laksmana, on the model of the Gitagovinda, praising Sahaji. The author calls himself Abhinava Jayadeva, and also the Pauranika of Sahaji. Laksmana Kavi, a court poet of Sahaji, praises his patron in most of the stanzas of his *Saharajiyam*, which deals with various aspects of literary criticsim of the type of the Prataparudriya of Vidyanatha. *Saharaj-astapadi* by Srinivasa contains certain phrases in praise of Sahaji set to a particular kind of tune. Of the same type is the *Saharajasabhasaro-varnini* by Laksmana, son of Visvesvara Sastrin. Other works in praise of Sahaji are the *Saharajanaksatramala* by Narayana, and *Sumatindraj ayaghosana* by Sumatindra.

Naidhruva Venkatesa Kavi, who was a protege of Serfoji summarises the story of the ancestors of Serfoji and deals with his glorious life in full in his Bhosalavaisavli, which is distinct from another work of the same name by Gangadhara mentioned above. Sarabharaja-vilasa by Jagannatha son of Srinivasa gives a history of the Maratha kings of Tanjore and immortalises the poet's patron. The work was composed in 1722 A. D., and the author is distinct from his namesake, who wrote Rasagangadhara. *Gunaratnakara*, a work on poetics by Narasimha, has stanzas in praise of Sarabhoji.

(v) *Mughals* :

Jagannatha Pandita, the celebrated author of Rasagangadhara and other works, wrote *Asaphavilasa*, apparently a prose akhyayika in praise of Nawab Asaf Khan, a counsellor of Shah Jehan, who died in 1646 A. D. The same author's *Jagadabharana* is a poem describing the splendour of his patron Dara Shikoh. *Jahangirasahacaritra*, fragments of which have been discovered in Nasik, is a prose work by Rudra, the author of the *Rastraudhavamsa*. *Birudavali*, a very old anonymous work, is an alliterative poem in praise of Jahagira (Jehangir). There is also another work of the same name by Raghudeva. There is a Sanskrit translation of the Persian Akbarnamah named *Akhabaranama*, which is undated, and appears to be old.

(vi) *Other dynasties* :

Sevantika-Parinaya, a drama, by Cokkanatha (already referred to earlier), who travelled to the court of king Basava in South Kanara describes the marriage of Basavaraja with Sevantika, daughter of Mitravarman, a prince of Malabar. Mitravarman, after his defeat at the hands of Godavarman of Cochin was imprisoned in the temple fo

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Mukamba, north of Udipi. King Basava received the prince kindly by the gift of a new palace and presents. The *Colacampu* by Virupaksa, probably a native of Tanjore, deals with the history of Colas, mainly Kulottunga Cola. Contrary to many Cola inscriptions, which trace the origin of the family to the Solar dynasty, this work represents the Colas as belonging to the fourth caste, and not Ksatriyas. Rudra, son of Ananta and grandson of Kesava, from South India, whose Jahangirasahacarita has been mentioned above, wrote the *Rastraudhavamsa* in 20 cantos. The work gives the story of the Bagulas of Mayuragiri commencing from Rastraudha, king of Kanauj and originator of the dynasty, and ending with Narayana Saha, ruler of Mayuragiri, the patron of the author.

Jagannatha Pandita wrote yet another historical work, *Pranabharana*, which is in praise of king Prananarayana of Kamarupa, and abounds in ideas of wit and wonder. *Ksitisavamsavalicarita*, written in the middle of the 13th century, relates the history of the ancestors of king Krsnacandra of Navadvipa in Bengal. It describes their battles against the Muslims, and the destinies of the individual rulers, besides all kinds of court tale,s, anecdotes, and even fairy tales.

Madhava, son of Abhayacandra, a court official of Vaghelaraja Virabhanu, wrote about the middle of the 16th century, the *Virabhanudaya Kavya* in 12 cantos, containing dates for the history of Rewa in the Mughal period. The *Jamavijaya* by Vaninatha (end of the 16th century) gives the history of the Jama dynasty of Kaccha and Navanagara in 7 cantos.

In his *Jambavatiparinaya* and *Satyaprinaya*, Ekamranatha, of Kondavidu, who came to the court of Immadi Ankusa of Rana family in the 16th-17th century, gives the genealogy of Ankusa and a running history of his ancestors and himself. He also wrote *Virabhadravijaya*. At the beginning of his works, Ekamranatha gives a detailed account of the family of his patrons. Pedda Jagadekaraya of this family is said to have defeated the ruler of Burananagari (city of Burhan), Nizam Shah, and captured innumerable horses and elephants. His son Jagadekaraya is stated to have captured in a battle Cittakhana, a Mahomedan chief, as prisoner, defeated the troops of Nutu Khan and Murtija Khan, and killed the chief Sujat Khan.

Krsnarajayasodindima by Anantarya, son of Singayarya, illustrates the greatness of Krsnaraja of Mysore (1714-31 A.D). Narasimha or Nrsimha Kavi alias Abhinava Kalidasa, son of Sivarama Sudhimani wrote *Nanjarajayasobhusana*, which is a work on poetics, singing the glory of the author's patron Nanjaraja son of Virabhupa of Mysore. This prince flourished in the beginning of the 17th century. *Balamartandavijaya* is a play in 5 acts by Devaraja, son of Sesadri, the court-poet of king Martandavarman (1729 58 A. D.) of Travancore The poet describes in his play the victorious marches of his patron, acquisition of wealth, and the renovation of the shrine of Sri Padmanabha at Trivandrum. The abdication of king Ramavarman of Cochin (1537 A. D) in favour of his brother Gedavarman (1537-61 A. D., and his pilgrimage to Benares are described in the drama Ramavarmavilasa. The author Balakavi, son of Kalahasti

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of Bharadvaja gotra lived in Mullandrum in N. Arcot District and was in the court of Ramavarman. *Ratnaketudaya*, another drama by the same author, traces the fortunes of Ramavarman till his abdication.

Vitthala's *Chayanataka* is based on the history of the Adilsahi dynasty of Bijapur. *Abadullacaritam*, which is dated Saka 1643 (1721 A. D.) is a poem in Sanskrit on the life and character of Abdullah, the kingmaker, one of the Saiyad brothers who lived in the early part of the 18th century. The author was Laksmipati, fourth son of Visvarupa, son of Jayadeva.

EARLY RELATIONS OF SHIVAJI WITH THE PORTUGUESE

GEORGE M. MORAES

The rapid successes that greeted Shivaji's arms against Bijapur alarmed the Portuguese authorities, and they felt concerned for the safety of their own dominions when with the seizure of Kalyan from the Bijapur satrap they were brought face to face with the rising Maratha leader carrying everything before him. "The rebellious Captain Shivaji," wrote the Portuguese Viceroy in a letter to the king on the 15th May, 1658, describing the new political situation arising from the meteoric rise of the Marathas, has caused so much disturbance in the northern territories that 80 soldiers were forced to pass the winter at Chaul,"[1] and again, that "he had taken over the lands at Bassein and 'Chaul, and is getting very powerful, and forces us to be careful, as he has built a navy in Biwandi, Kalyan and Panvel, ports in the district of Kalyan."[2] The Portuguese had indeed awakened too late to a sense of the Maratha danger. For notwithstanding the ships taken against him by the Viceroy in laying an embargo on the Maratha ships going out of these ports, Shivaji had gathered enough strength to be able by 1661 to drive a wedge between the Portuguese territories in the north and the South Konkan and was knocking by the close of the year at the very gates of Kudal.

Engaged as he was in a life and death struggle with Shaista Khan, the Mughal governor of Deccan, Shivaji was not in a position just then to treat with the Portuguese. Consequently, he wrote to the Viceroy that he would maintain friendly relations with him so long as the Portuguese captains in North Konkan did not assist the Mughal troops with foodstuffs or provender.[3] The Viceroy gladly complied with Shivaji's demand for of the two evils the Mughals and the Marathas, the latter were definitely the lesser. In point of fact the Viceroy observed in his instructions to his captains, "it would be expedient to prevent with all dissimulation that any kind of provision should go to the Camp of the Mughal, in order that for want of it he would leave the neighbourhood and thus Shivaji would have a chance of being able to accomplish his intentions of injuring the enemy, who, as he is so powerful, would be

1. Pissurlencar, "Portuguese and Marathas," P. 4.
2. Ibid.
3. Indian Historical Records Commission, IX, p. 110.

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better far away and not such a close neighbour".[1] Actually as had been feared by the Viceroy the Mughal armies were soon devastating the Konkan littoral, making little distinction between the territory under the Marathas, [2] and that under the Portuguese thus forcing the hands of the Viceroy to rush a squadern for its defence.[3]

In view of the friendly relations existing between the two powers, the Viceroy took the opportunity of congratulating him on his victories against the Mughals, when Shivaji appeared before Vingusla in his march through South Konkan, and destroyed the Dutch factory there. Trusting to this friendship he had earlier[4] spurned the offers of Lakkam Savant of Kudal to drive the Dutch factors in return for Portuguese aid against Shivaji.[5] The fact was Lakkam Savant, who was a vassal of Bijapur had proved a troublesome neighbour to the Portuguese, and had under instructions from Bijapur often pillaged and burned their villages.[6] The Viceroy therefore felt happy that Shivaji's intervention in the Konkan would at once cripple their political opponent in the Konkan, and rid them of the commercial rivalry of the Dutch. He proposed to Shivaji he should forthwith eject the Dutch from Vingusla. But the Maratha leader, whose ambition was to push his conquests further south as far as Mirjan and dispossess the Portuguese of Goa[7] decided to exploit the jealousies b t-ween the foreign settlers. He offered to protect the Dutch and spare them further molestation, if they engaged to aid him in the realisation of his plans in the South Konkan. He was in fact preparing to attack Goa with their help, when he was compelled to hurry towards the north, as the Mughals, who had in the meanwhile been reinforced, were menacing his frontiers.[8] Shivaji, however, would not leave his erstwhile collaborators to the tender mercies of their enemies. And so when with the departure of the Maratha troops, Lakkam Savant, who had withdrawn to his hill fortresses, returned and attacked Vingusla he sent reinforcements to the Governor of Vingusla to defend it against its assailant.[9].

The incident however, did not disturb the cordiality between Shivaji and the Viceroy. The reason for this was that the excesses of the Mughal armies operating in North Konkan had convinced the Portuguese that Aurangzeb was bent upon devouring piecemeal all powers, foreign or indigenous, and that it was in their common interest to offer an united front to the Mughal Emperor, while as for Bijapur though the Sultan was trying to fraternize with the Portuguese the Viceroy knew but too well that what with the incessant Maratha incursions into the Bijapur territory the Sultan could not afford to pick up fresh quarrels with the Portuguese, but that "every time he has an occassion he would use it against them,,.[10]"

1. Ibid.
2. Balkrishna, Shivaji the Great, I, P. 505.
3. Braganca Periera, Archives Portuguese Oriental. Tome I Vol. III PT. I P.
4. J. B. H. S, III P. 90 (D R. p. 316).
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid P. 89.
7. Balkrishna, I, pp. 93-94 Canwar to Surat 15th July 1663.
8. J. B. H. S. III, p. 100 (D. R. p. 545).
9. Ibid p. 102 D R p. 578.
10. Baragnca Periera c p. XIX.

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Early in 1665 peace was made between Bijapur and the Marathas, Bijapur ceding to Shivaji all the land as far as Parda (at present included in Goa). The cession of this territory whetted Shivaji's appetite for more land in the Konkan, and hearing just then that hostilities had broken out between Holland and Portugal in Europe, he renewed his proposals for an alliance with the Dutch[1] The Portuguese strengthened their forts and set watches all over the low lands of Barda and Salsette. Other precautions were also taken, and the Viceroy after expelling 400 suspected persons had it announced by beat of drum that neither Muslims nor Hindus should carry arms in the Portuguese territory. [2].

The discomfiture of the Mughals under Shaista Khan had drawn the pointed attention of the Emperor to the seriousness of the Mughal situation in Western India, and he soon despatched to the Deccan, the ablest of his general Miraza Raja Jai Sinh with Dilir Khan as his second in command. Immediately on his arrival Jai Sinh set to prepare a shanglehold for Shivaji by winning over to the imperial cause all the neighbouring states who had reason to complain against the Marathas. Bijapur was reduced to renounce the treaty she had but recently signed with the latter, and recover the lands in the Konkan which she had ceded as a price thereof. The Rajas of Ramnagar and Jauhar, the Siddis of Janjira were all united in one common resistance to the aggressor, and pressure was brought to bear on the foreign powers, the Portugese, the Dutch and the English to render naval assistance against the Marathas. [3]

The foreign powers dreaded the Mughals as much as they did Shivaji and refused to make common cause against the latter. On this occasion the Viceroy permitted himself only so far as to complain to Shivaji against the excesses committed by the Maratha fleet and demanded that amends should be made for the damage caused to the Portugese nationals.[4]

It is not relevant for our present purpose to describe the events leading to the treaty of Purandhar and Shivaji'a final capitulation to the Mughal general. Suffice it to say that with the support of the Mughal arms Rustam Zama, the Bijapur commander, recovered from Shivaji the whole of the South Konkan as far as Rajapur which was granted to him in jagir by the Bijapur Sultan.

After his escape from Agra on the 17th August 1666 Shivaji prosecuted his war against Bijapur. Having closed it with treaty which he dictated to the Sultan, he launched his long awaited campaign against the Portuguese.

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1. Balkrishna, I P. 538. J. B. H. S., III p. 278.
2. Ibid p. 545 (Dutch Records.)
3. Balkrishna I, p. 39, 115.
4. Braganza, Periera, p. XXVI.

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The pretext for the war was easily found. The Portuguese had offered an asylum to Lakkam Savant of Kudal, the implacable enemy of Shivaji and the faithful vassal of Bijapur. They were now accused of having instigated Lakkam and his nephew Narob Savant to lead an incursion into Vingusla on the 15th September 1667 and having caused molestation to the Dutch factors there[1] Shivaji immediately mustered in the vicinity of his fortress of Rangno an army of 5000 troops and 1000 horse and entered Bardes on 19th of November. Despite the precautions taken by the Portuguese, the Marathas during the following three days pillaged a number of villages in Bardes, and took prisoners upwards of 1600 people chiefly women and childern.[2] The Viceroy hastened to patch up a peace with the Maratha leader and rescued these unoffending people from the direfate (a life of degradation) that awaited them. The very first clause of the treaty of 5th December provided that Shivaji Raja should restore soon in full friendship without misunderstanding and reason all the prisoners, men, women and childern, who were taken by his troops from Bardes when they invaded it on the 19th of November 1667 as also the heads of cattle belonging to the territories of the King of my lord.[3]

RAJA JAI SINGH SAWAI'S CONTRIBUTION TO IMPERIAL POLITICS

SATISH CHANDRA

Jai Singh Sawai's (1681-1743) who occupied the gaddi of Amber for about half a century, played an important part not only in the inner development of Amber, but also the politics of the period: His role in raising the prestige of the house of Amber from the low ebb to which it had sunk after the death of Jai Singh (1665), and in greatly extending the boundaries of its hereditary dominions is not generally denied. But his contribution to Imperial politics of the period is a subject of some controversy. He is widely accused of having been blind to the real danger the Marathas represented for Northern India and the Rajputs, and or a short sighted policy of cooperation, if not active collaboration, with the Marathas, having aided their entry into the plains of Northern India. The motives for this policy are differently described as religious sympathy with the Marathas,[1] a narrow and selfish desire to hold on to Malwa establishing a Kachwaha hegemony in Western India with the aid of the Marathas,[2] and lastly simple disgust and disillusionment with the Mughal Court politics.[3] Some of the contemporary chroniclers have sharply denounced him for his policy of "treacherous collusion" with the enemies of his master. But in order to arrive at a balanced and correct estimate of Jai Singh's contribution and his role, it is necessary first to analyse objectively the development of his policy. Only then is it possible to pronounce judgment upon his motives or conduct.

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1. Letter of Viceroy to the Dutch factor of 28-11-1667 in Pessulencar A incused to Shivaji Bardez P. 3.
2. Balkrishna, I, 573-74 (Dutch Record).
3. Broganca Periera, I, P. LIX.

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The career of Jai Singh Sawai might be broadly divided two phases: The first from his service in the Deccan under Prince Bidar Bakht (1698) to the downfall of the Sayyid Brothers in 1721, and the second from the downfall of the Sayyids to his death in 1743. During the first he gradually regains the leading position occupied by his ancestors inside the Mughal Empire, and comes forward as one of its chief defenders against the Maratha and other despoilers; during the second he advocates accommodation with the Marathas, and comes forward as one of the main exponents of a policy of peace and conciliation.

The First Phase

Jai Singh began his career with service in the Deccan against the Marathas, and displayed considerable bravery in the seige of Khelna in 1701. However, he was treated niggardly by Aurangzib, and at the time of the latter's death, held the low mansab of 2,000 zat, + 2,000 sawar. During his brief reign, Prince Azam, apparently at the instance of his Vazir Zu-l-Fiqar Khan, raised Jai Singh to the mansab of 7,000 zat + 7,000 sawar and the subedari of Malwa. The same rank and the subedari of Gujrat was conferred on Ajit Singh. So, this was probably the beginning of a new Rajput policy by the new King. But Bahadur Shah I, on his victory over Azam, decided to continue the policy of Aurangzib, and even sought to carry it further by transferring the gaddi of Amber from Jai Singh to his brother Bijay Singh who had fought on Bahadur Shah's side. As is well known this provoked a widespread rebellion in Rajputana, and Bahadur Shah was compelled to retreat from his policy. Amber and Jodhpur were restored to Jai Singh and Ajit Singh, but substantially no other concessions were made to the two Rajas.[4] Their repeated requests for high mansabs and honours, provincial governerships etc. i.e. the position of their ancestors were turned down. Accordingly the Rajas remained dissatisfied, although they participated in the Imperial campaign against Banda Bahadur, the Sikh guru.

When Jahandar became King and Zu-I-Fiqar his vazir, he once again conferred the mansabs of 7,000 zat + 7,000 sawar and the Governorship of Malwa on Jai Singh, and the same rank and Gujrat on Ajit Singh. Jahandar was defeated by Farrukh Siyar before the new policy could take effect, but Zu-l-Fiqar's policy was continued by the new vazirs,the Sayyid Brothers. Jai Singh took charge of Malwa in 1713 and the same year he inflicted a severe defeat upon a big Maratha force which had crossed the Narbada. The victory was described as "the biggest since the time of Alamgir".[5] Meanwhile, after some initial trouble, Ajit Singh had been appointed to Gujrat-another province increasingly menaced by the Marathas. Thus by 1713 that is barely half a dozen year after the death of Aurangib, the Rajputs bid fair to resume their position as the sword arm of the Mughal Empire. But the development was checked by the growing struggle for power at court between the Emperor and the masterful Sayyid Brothers. In 1715, Jai Singh was recalled to court, ostensibly to lead a campaign against the Jats entrenched between Delhi and Agra, but in reality to rescue the Emperor from the domination of his vazirs. Difficult terrian and underhand opposition from the vazir led to the failure of Jai Singh. Meanwhile, the position in Malwa had deteriorated in his absence. The Marathas came annually and harried the province. Jai Singh petitioned repeatedly to be allowed to return to his province, but party politics reigned supreme at court, and towards the end of 1717 Jai Singh was removed from the governorship of Malwa.[6]

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We need not recount here the details of how in 1718 the Sayyids made a pact with the Marathas, granting them the chauch and sardeshmukhi of the Deccan in return for aid with which they deposed Farrukh Siyad and set up their one puppet nominee. We need only note that Jai Singh took his stand against the Sayyids and their Maratha confederates,[7] and was even prepared for open resistance, but the chicken-hearted Emperor would have none of it and suffered disgrace and death. After meditating resistance to the usurpers for some time, Jai Singh also made his peace with the Sayyids, but he kept away from court.

The Second Phase.

With the downfall of the Sayyid Brothers in 1721, Jai Singh came into the lime-light once again. In 1722, he was given the task of suppressing his old enemies, the Jats. The campaign was over within a few months and Jai Singh wiped out the disgrace of his previous failure against them.

It might have been expected that after this success, Jai Singh would take a more conspicuous part in Imperial affairs. But, curiously enough, after the campaign he retired to Amber and spent the next six years in constructing a new capital for himself at Jaipur. During this period, the Maratha depradations in Malwa and Gujrat assumed greater and greater proportions. But repeated appeals by the Emperor to Jai Singh to go to the aid of Raja Girdhar Bahadur, the Governor of Malwa, apparently failed to have any effect on Jai Singh. This has been ascribed to Jai Singh's disgust with court politics, and collusion with the Marathas.[8] In reality, since 1725 Jai Singh had been urging upon the Emperor a policy of judicial compromise with the Marathas. For in 1725, the conditions were vastly different from what they had been in 1713. Then a strong viceroy like the Nizamul Mulk was in the Deccan, the Marathas were internally divided and lacked a good leader and were really at the nadir of their power. In 1725, the Nizamul Mulk was in rebellion and his policy towards the Marathas was, at best, uncertain; the Marathas had gained considerably in power, Baji Rao had made his appearance on the scene,and the Empire had yet to recover from the series of internal wars which took place since the death of Aurangzib. Accordingly in 1725, he proposed to the Emperor that Shahu and four of his principal men should be taken into Imperial service, and Shahu granted jagirs worth ten lakhs in each of the two provinces of Malwa and Gujrat [9] Jai Singh clearly regarded this a profitable basis of peace with the Marathas. As he wrote, the Marathas "want the chauth and sardeshmukhi of Malwa and Gujrat, which comes to 50 lakhs." If a settlement could be reached for 20 lakhs and the Imperialists saved the burden of yearly campaigns it would be worthwhile. No doubt, the Marathas were in the habit of regarding every concession as a sign of weakness and raising fresh demands till they became the dominant partner. But the Peshwa did not as yet know the full measure of his own power, he was faced with opposition from the Nizam and the Pratinidhi, and Shahu himself, whose influence was cast on the side of moderation, had not become a powerless puppet till then. The Marathas were also known to be in a position of considerable financial embarrassment, and it could perhaps be reasonably hoped they would consent to forego the full amount of the chauth which involved difficult

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and costly annual campaigns in lieu of an assured annual sum. At any rate, there does not seem anything selfish about the policy. Jai Singh had not yet become Governor of Malwa, and the argument that he wanted to see the existing Governor thoroughly discredited in the hope of getting the province for himself seems farfetched, and cannot be maintained at the same time as the argument that he was disgusted with court politics and wanted to keep aloof. Through his friend, the Mir Bakhshi Khan Dauran, Jai Singh might anyhow have got Malwa for himself, but he seems to have felt it would be little use unless his policy was first accepted by the Emperor. Jai Singh deemed a settlement over Malwa and Gujrat in the best interest of the Empire, and privately advised Sarbuland Khan, the Governor of Gujrat, to agree to the Maratha demand of chauth, and thus restore peace to Gujrat.[10] Even if we disagree with Jai Singh on the wisdom of the policy advocated by him there seems little ground to impugn his motives at this stage.

In October 1729 Jai Singh was appointed Governor of Malwa once again and set forth his policy even more clearly in a remarkable document. He pointed out that the "Marathas had tasted Malwa for a long time past. If this year, by reason of our heavy concentration of troops, they were unable to enter the Subah or chastised (after they have entered) you know what heavy expenditure would be necessary for this object every year in the future. I therefore suggest that as Raja Shahu has been ranked as an imperial mansabdars since the days of Aurangzib, your Majesty should give him a jagir worth ten lakh of rupees in the name of his (adopted) son, Khushal Singh, on condition that he prevented any future disturbance in Malwa and an auxiliary contingent of his troops should attend the subedar of that province. This will give peace to the land and save us from the expense of campaigning (every year)[11]."

Jai Singh's policy was clearly aimed at keeping the Marathas out of Malwa. But after 1725, he considered that possible only by a settlement with the Marathas and not by war. More broadly, he urged a policy of judicious compromise with the Marathas, and going to war with them only as a last resort. Keeping in mind the military, political and economic condition of the Empire at the time, it was perhaps the most feasible policy. It was the same policy as was pursued throughout his life by a shrewd politician like the Nizamul Mulk and recommended to his sons from his death bed. No doubt Jai Singh hoped that the success of his policy would bring him credit and personal gain, but that does not by itself make his policy a selfish one.

But a faction of Mughal and other nobles at court opposed this policy as "dishonourable", and insinuated that Jai Singh was in league with his co-religionists. Accordingly, Jai Singh was saddled with the task of fighting the Marathas in Malwa, i. e. with the task of carrying out a policy he considered impolitic and disastrous. Under the circumstances it is obvious he had no heart in this fighting.[12] Quite apart from that, the Mughals had really no answer to the Maratha light cavalry tactics, and Jai Singh with all his resources fared as badly as the best of Aurangzib's generals.[13] The Marathas now threatened to cross into the Doab, the heart of the Empire. In 1735 the Imperialists made

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their maximum effort, and mustered 75,000 horse which were divided into two armies under the comand of vazir Qamaruddin and the Mir Bakhshi Khan Dauran respectively. But this huge force was completely immobilised by the Maratha cavalary. Khan Dauran and Jai Singh were cut off and surrounded at Toda Tank by Holkar, and Jaipur lay defenceless before him.

This once again convinced Jai Singh of the impossibility of "effectivelly subduing the Marathas by fighting". Accordingly, in 1735, Jai Singh invited the Peshwa to Northern India and offered to bear his expenses. This invitation has been taken mistakenly as an invitation to lead a joint campaign against Delhi.[14] But in his talks with the Maratha envoy, Jai Singh clearly stated that the invitation was for the purpose of securing the chauth of Malwa for the Peshwa, and introducing him to the Emperor (after due assurances of safety) for the settlement of his (other) claims. The Wakil was told that if the visit did not bear fruit, then (and then only) the Peshwa would be free to pursue any other methods he chose (i. e. war).[15]

It was thus a peace visit for the purpose of negotiating a settlement which could not be effectively done by the Peshwa from Poona. To underline the peaceful purpose of the visit, the Peshwa was asked to come with 5,000 men only.[16] It is clear that the court was appraised of the purpose and nature of the visit. The Peshwa crossed the Narbada in November, and from January, money for the expenses of the Peshwa was received from the court through Jai Singh. *Furthermore, no campaign against the Marthas was undertaken that year by the Imperialists.*[17]

It is not necessary to pursue here the course of the negotiations which followed, and the causes of their failure. It was due partly to Baji Rao's lack of confidence in the ability of Jai Singh and Khan Dauran to "deliver the goods" –There being a strong "no-compromise" party at court.[18] The Imperialists and Baji Rao also failed to reach agreement on the terms. There is strong reason to suspect that the chief differences lay not with regard to Baji Rao's demands on Malwa and Gujrat which he virtually asked to be ceded to him, but with regard to the Deccan on which he presented certain far reaching demands.[19] The Nizam had all along feared that a deal would be made at his expense and he stiffened the back of the 'no compromise' party by secret promises of support. The terms proposed by Jai Singh through his agent were a cash indemnity of twenty lakhs, a jagir of forty lakhs in Malwa (in lieu of chauth) and assignment on the territory of Dost Md. Khan Rohilla.[20]

The failure of the negotiations made a renewed fight with the Marathas inevitable. Unable to carry his policy at the court, Jai Singh contented himself with securing from the Peshwa a promise not to march the Maratha armies over Amber and Bundi.[21]

The arrival of Nizamul Mulk in Delhi following the dash of Baji Rao to the gates of the Imperial capital in 1937, completely

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altered the political situation once more, The Mughal "War Party' had played its trump card, and everything depended on the success or failure of the Nizam. Jai Singh may have had his doubts about the Nizam's ability to defeat the Marathas but he did not withhold cooperation and sent a contingent under his son. The Rajputs and Bundelas bore the brunt of the fighting at Bhopal, and left the camp only when the Nizam got himself in a trap and famine began in his camp. [22]

The political situation marked time during the invasion of Nadir Shah. Jai Singh did not participate in the fight at Panipat, but sent a contingent under his wakil Kripa Ram, who acquitted himself with honour. [23] Subsequently, like the rest of the monarchs in Northern India, Jai Singh watched the situation and waited for a move by the Peshwa.

All the mighty plans of the Mughal War Party since 1724 had thus ended in failure, while the invasion of Nadir Shah heaped defeat, dishonour and infamy upon their heads. But the Mughals, like the Bourbons of France, had "forgotten nothing and learnt nothing". They resumed the attempt to push the Marathas out of Malwa and Gujrat, instead of making a peace and turning their attention to internal reform. Baji Rao was dead, but his successor Balaji Roa resumed his policy, and it was only the threat of a renewed invasion of the Doab, coupled with the knowledge that the Nizam had once again come to an understanding with the Marathas, that compelled the Emperor to pay heed to the advice of Jai Singh and open peace negotiations with the Marathas.

The agreement of 1741 negotiated with the help of Jai Singh forms a land mark in Mughal-Maratha relations. By it, the Emperor accepted substantially the terms demanded by Baji Rao in 1736. Malwa was ceded for all practical purposes, though the position of Gujrat remained obscure. In return for the Peshwa's demands of a cash subsidy of 50 lakhs in Bijapur, Aurangabad and Khandesh and the vice-royality of the Deccan, the chauth of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was ceded to them [24]. The last was a device to divert the Marathas from the Doab. But the Maratha insistance on a cash subsidy to pay off their debts, and their recent accord with the Nizam left the Imperialists no alternative. It gave the Doab a fifteen year's respite from the Peshwah hordes, however and had the period been well utilised, might have enabled the Empire to survive as a Northern Indian power if not as an all-India Empire. But the process of internal disintegration was too deep seated to be thus stayed.

The death of Jai Singh in 1743 broke the last dyke between the Marathas and Rajputana. Feudal disunity triumphed over Imperial unity and the Maratha invited by rival contestants, speedily overran all Rajputana and even Delhi. But for these subsequent events, Jai Singh cannot really be held responsible.

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In spite of his obvious failure to stay the disintegration of the Mughal Empire, or save Rajputana from falling under the domination of the Marathas, Jai Singh Sawai stands out as a statesman of no mean order who not only restored the fortunes of the house of Amber but fought strenuously for the only possible policy that would have given the battle-scarred Empire a breathing space to recoup and reorganize its forces. That he failed was very largely due to causes beyond his control. But the charge of "treachery", "disloyality" and 'narrow minded selfishness' so often preferred against him falls to the ground when we carefully analyse his policy through its various phases.

REFERENCES.

1. Thus Sardesai, Marathi Riyasat, (Medhya), pp. 325-9, Sarkar, Later Mughals p p. 248-9; Fall of the Mughal Empire. These views were based largely on certain letters in the Mandloi Daftar which have since been proved spurious (See Dr. R. Singh, Malwa, p p. 196-8).

2. Sarkar, History of Jaipur, (unpublished Ms.), Dr. R. Singh p. 194.

3. Dr. A. L. Srivastava, First two Nawabs, p. 50.

4. In Nov. 1711, Jai Singh was given the *faujdari* of Chitrakut and the mansab 3500-3000, and Ajit Singh *faujdari* of Sorath and the mansab of 4000-4000. (Akhbarat 22, 24 November, December 3, Parwana d. 17th November).

5. Akhbarat June 17; *Waqia* papers of the Maharajah's Army, May 28, 29; Letters May 25. See detailed description in Dr. R. Singh's article in Sardesai Com. Vol. p p. 68-9.

6. Jai Singh left Malwa in October 1715, and reached Court in April 1716. As late as May 1717, the Emperor had promised. 'Whatever may be I shall never take Malwa from you' and promised the support of a big noble with a mighty army to help drive out the Marathas from Malwa (Letter May 5, October 5).

7. Duff (i.393) asserts that Jai Singh met young Baji Rao in 1719 and established friendly relations with him. This is doubtful however, for Jai Singh was at Amber at the time.

8. Sarkar (History of Jaipur, unpublished ms.), Dr. R. Singh p. 196, Sardesai loc. cit.

9. Jaipur Records, Hindi Letters.

10. Ibid.

11. J. R. No. 188.

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12. Jai Singh was appointed Governor of Malwa in October 1729, but replaced after only a few months by Muhammad Khan Bangash who pursued a policy of all-out resistance. In 1732, Jai Singh was appointed Governor of Malwa for the third time. He was asked to maintain 30,000 horse and foot in equal number and 2/3 of the revenue was assigned to him, the Diwan, was assigned one third of the told income and was to maintain 18,000 horse extra (J. R., *Hindi* Letters No. 28.)

13. The Mughals made much play of the fact that Jai Singh with all his resources, had failed to check the Marathas, and declared, 'Jai Singh has ruined the Empire by his secret support to the Marathas.' (S. P. D. XIV-47). The subsequent failure of the Nizam at Bhopal showed that the failure of Jai Singh was not due primarily to unwillingness to fight but deeper military causes. Jai Singh was suspicious of the Mughals and told the Maratha wakil, 'I have hitherto guarded the prestige and interests of Baji Rao because I could not trust the Turks. If the latter triumph over the Deccani forces, they will disregard us' (*i. e.* The Rajputs and *Hindustanis*) (S. P. D. XIV-47.)

Jai Singh's suspicion was not without foundation. Nor is it correct to regard this as an opportunist attempt to hold on to Malwa with the aid of the Marathas (c f Dr. R. Singh P. 235). In 1736 Jai Singh agreed to give up Malwa to Baji Rao to bring about a Maratha Mughal accord.

14. Thus, Sarkar P P. 263-4.

15. S. P. D. XIV-47.

16. Ibid. A force under Holkar, Sindhia, Anand Rao Pawar and Baji Bhimrao was sent to Malwa and Bundelkhand, and remained camping till the rains of 1736. The negotations were long drawn out, and the Peshwa complained that he was being 'ruined by the expense of his (idle) armies,' but remained in Malwa till June when he was finally convinced that the Court would not grant his demands except through war and left for Poona determined on carrying the war into the heart of the Empire next year. (S. P. D. XXII-333, Hingana Daftar 3-6).

17. Pilaji was sick in Maharashtra that year, and Irvine account of skirmishes between him and the wazir Qamaruddin (II P P. 281-2) refer to the previous year. Ashub is the only authority for the fight in Rajputana that year between Jai Singh and Holkar (there is no mention of Baji Rao who is described as being busy in the Konkan). From internal and external evidence, I have established that this also refers to the campaign of the previous year. (See my thesis, 'Party and Politics at the Mughal Court,' Appendix B, lodged in the Allahabad University). Thus, Irvine II 281-84, Sarkar I-277-8, Dr. R. Singh P. 239 are not correct in speaking of fighting this year.

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18. Baji Bhivrao wrote, 'In Delhi the Mughals have made common cause. Khan Dauran and Jai Singh are with the Emperor. The spies of the Nizam come and go day and night. At his instance, Qamaruddin. Rashanuddaulah, Saadat Khan and Abhai Singh have invited and divided not to let you succeed. You cannot go to Delhi trusting in them.' etc etc. (S. P. D. XV, 89, 91). The Maratha Wakil at Delhi warned that the Mughals were 'untrustworthy, deceitful, and devoid of faith.' (S. P. D. XIV, 54).

19. The Peshwa demanded a jagir of fifty Lakhs in Khandesh, Aurangabad and Bijapur, and nominat on of the Peshwa as the Deputy Viceroy of the Deccan (under the Crown Prince), all administration being conducted through him, and any additional revenue raised by his efforts being shared half and half (S. P. D. XV, P P. 94-5).

For further discussion, see my thesis, loc-cit. P P. 322-5.

20. S. P. D. XIV, 50.

21. S. P. D. XXX, 196.

22. Dr. Y. H. Khan (Asaf Jah 1, P. 213) ascribes the defeat to the treacherous attitude of the Rajputs and Bundelas who, he says, were secretly sending information to the Maratha camp. But in his letters, Baji Rao himself makes no mention of this and ascribes the defeat to the Nizam's own pussil-animity (Brs, Ch. 33).

23. Shiv Dass.

24. S. P. D. XV 86. In return the Peshwa gave a written undertaking to visit the Emperor to see that no Maratha crossed the Narmada holding himself responsible for the acts of any one who did, not to disturb any province except Malwa, to ask in future for any money beyond what was granted, to depute one Maratha general with 500 horse to serve the Emperor, and to join the Imperial army in person with 4,000 horse when it undertook a campaign-any additional help to be paid for.

These terms were not kept by the Peshwa. Murshid Quli, the Subedar of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa refused to accept the Emperor to order for the grant of chauth, and this provided a suitable pretext to the Peshwa.

NEW LIGHT ON THE HISTORY OF BENGAL DURING 1663-64.

JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR,

An attempt has been made in this paper to throw new light on the history of Bengal during the period intervening between the

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viceroyalties of Mir Jumla (dated 31st March, 1663) and of Shaistakhan (1664), on the basis of Shihabuddin Talish's *Continuation* [1] of *Fathiyya i briyya*. Sir J. N. Sarkar has described the historical value of this work in his *Studies in Mughal India & Studies in Aurangzib's reign* and has therein translated several long passages from it, bearing on Shaista Khan's governership of Bengal, the Conquest of Chatgaon and the suppression of the Magh pirates. I have here tried to translate some passages left over by Sir J. N. Sarkar and which relate to the period intervening between the viceroyalties of Mir Jumla and Shaista Khan. These throw new and interesting light on (i) the official changes after Mir Jumla's death and (ii) the administration of Daud Khan Qureishi (Governor of Bihar) who officiated as Governor of Bengal for some time. The latter's beneficial measures, especially those to relieve the scarcity in Bengal deserve commendation. His measures against the Maghs and the account of the condition of the fleet deserve study being necessary for understanding Shaista Khan's measures. The details also supply important incidental information regarding Mir Jumla's governorship as well. The consequences of leaving such an important province as Bengal without a permanent governor even for the brief space of a year were disastrous and dismal. During the period three persons officiated as governer of the province,- Ihtisham Khan, Dilir Khan, and Daud Khan. Even an otherwise strong man like Daud Khan had to beat his wings in vain in order to cope with the pervading laxity and negligence which was manifested after the removal of the strong personality of Mir Jumla not only in the civil administration of the province but also in the military affairs of the province.

1. OFFICIAL CHANGES AFTER MIR JUMLA'S DEATH. (106a-107b).

[Ihtisham Khan appointed to hold charge of Bengal][2]. 106a Dilir Khan [3] was superior to the aforesaid (Ihtisham) in prestige and rank, and, in his heart of hearts, was not satisfied (with his lot); but outwardly he did not show his opposition (to Ihtisham Khan's being in charge). At the end of Ramzan 1074, [4] Mirak Sultan, who had been appointed *Waqianvis* and the Superintendent of branding of the auxilary forces of this province on the death of Muhammad Mumin, arrived.[5] [Khutba in Khizrpur at three places][6]. (106b). In accordance with imperial orders Ihtisham Khan, having given up the

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1. Sir J. N. Sarkar's transcript of Bodleian Lib MS. No. 539 (Sachau and Ethe's Cat. No. 240).

2. History of Bengal, II.

3. Dilir Khan had played a very important role in the War of Succession and in the Assam Campaign.

4. Should be 1073 A. H.

5. Muhammad Mumin Tabrezi, historiographer, rendered remarkable social service during the famine and pestilence at Garhgaon and nursed the sick and helped the distressed, till he himself died. Fl. 137-8.

6. History of Bengal, II.

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idea of ruling, proceeded with the treasure [7] and the females of the deceased, Mir Abdullah[8], grandson of the deceased and also the above mentioned property. The corpse of the deceased which had been preserved underground[9] was brought out and also taken.

(107 a) As the Khan i Khanan had become suspicious against Mulla Mustafa the Qazi of Jahangirnagar and he considered the Qazi to be a bribe-taker and the Mir Adl. as a parasite (*muft khar*) they were expelled from the city and Mir Jumla himself had begun to administer justice in affairs, both religious and secular. Whatever appeared to the deceased to be true, he used to do without any hesitation. Hence he had not appointed any body to that job, and on the occasion of his advance towards Assam, he had laid it down that if they (the people) wanted to decide at Jahangirnagar any affair according to the holy religious law, tney should take recourse to Shaikh Azam. But the said Shaikh Azam should not put seal on any paper, and consider or name himself as a Qazi. Now, at this time, Dilir Khan (on becoming Governor of Bengal in place of Ihtisham Khan) appointed the said Shaikh Qazi and Mulla Muhammad Ali and Mulla Mustafa Mir Adl and Mufti respectively.

(107 b) In accordance with imperial orders Mahmud Beg began to prepare for the journey to the Court with the dependents of the Khan i Khanan [10] and Mirak Sultan busied himself with the work entrusted to him (*i. e.* Paymaster of Bengal).

2. DAUD KHAN AS GOVERNOR OF BENGAL.

It was during the rains and floods that on 5th Rabi I 1074 (Sunday, 27th September, 1663) that Daud Khan arrived at the vicinity of Jahangirnagar on a boat. He wished, on account of the abundance of water, and the smallness of the place, not to stay at Khizrpur. But Mirak Sultan, out of his natural well-wishing, dissuaded him from doing so, and said that Jahangirnagar was not a choice place and he should stay at Khizrpur, for Khan i Khanan had impressed upon the emperor that the non-residence of the previous governors at Khizrpur, was due to the fear of the accursed Mughals. Daud Khan listened to the advice of his friend and took his residence at Khizrpur. The fact is that Khizrpur is on the Brahmaputra and during rainy season the ground is not visible except the houses of the Khans. During the time of Emperor Jahangir the accursed Maghs used to come to Jahangirnagar through a nala (108a) which issues out of the Brahmaputra and flows in front of Khizrpur, and joins another at

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7. Mir Jumla's properties in Bengal and in the Deccan originally escheated to the Mughal State, were restor ed to his son. E. F. I, XI. 273-4, Bernier, 173.

8. Son of Muhammad Amin. Killed in N W. Frontier 21st, Apirl. 1672 Mu. III 617. *Tarikh i Muhammadi*, 1083. I am indebted to Prof. S. H. Askari of Patna College for lending me his copy of this ms.

9 Mir Jumla's bodily remains were interred by Dilir Khan and Ihtisham Khan temporarily in the vault at Khizrpur, constucted at the Nawab's order after his starting for Assam.

10. Ihtisham Khan had been ordered previously to go to the Court with the females and treasure of Mir Jumla, Cont. 106B.

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Jahangirnagar, and capture and kidnap a large number of people. Therefore, it was at the end of the rains, and during winter, when the season of the coming of the Maghs was over, that the governor could pitch their camps there.

In short, Dilir Khan proceeded to the Court on 10 Rabi I (10th October) and Ibn Hussain, the darogha of the fleet saw the disorders of (108b) the affair of *nawwara*. When he found that the arrangement of the same was beyond the power of these rulers, until the arrival of a reliable *subahdar*, the fleet would go out of hand and he himself would be taken to task, he reported the matter to the court in an *arzdasht* and solicited permission to proceed to the Court. His request was granted and *farmans* were issued summoning him. Thus he saved himself.

Mahmud Beg was still staying at Jahangirnagar on account of certain difficulties when the imperial order was issued, giving him charge of artillery by replacing Mir Murtaza. Accordingly he returned and began to look after his new task and Mir Murtaza proceeded to the Court. Mir Murtaza had rendered good service in the Assam expedition[11] and deserved a variety of favours and concessions But his dismissal was due (109 a) to the fact that the Mutasuddis of the imperial Court, when the *subah* was without a controlling *subahdar* and there was a suspicion that Prince Shuja was present in the country of the Maghs, considered it inexpedient for a Shujaite to remain in Bengal.[12]

As the time of the opposition of the accursed Maghs and pirates had arrived, Daud Khan wished to send water-patrols for repelling them. On account of the ascendancy of the accursed and the disorders in (110a) the fleet of Bengal, and because the awe and fear of the pirates had entered the heart of the subjects of the province everyone to whom Daud Khan wished to offer Sardari, (admiralty) refused it, except Farhad Khan, who along with Munawwar Khan Zamindar turned attention to that affair. The condition was that after 20 days Farhad Khan should come back and another should take his place. Farhad Khan with the advice of Daud Khan, took his stand at Bagdia at the head of their route to Jahangirnagar. The pirates, having come to Bhushna, which is 5 or 6 days distance from Bagdia, began to capture men and devastate the place. Daud Khan wrote to Farhad Khan to repel them. Till the arrival of Farhad Khan they beat, killed, kidnapped and went off. When after the expiry of one month, Farhad Khan came to Jahangirnagar, Daud Khan, displeased with him, offered the office of the cruising admiral (*sardar i sairab*) to Munawwar Khan and wrote to the Emperor that the plunder of Bhushna occured on account of the wavering of Farhad Khan. Accordingly Farhad Khan got a decrease in his mansalo by 550.

(110 b) Askar Khan, who had been appointed by the *Khan i Khanan* leader of the expedition against Kuch Bihar, which on account of the latter's death, had not been undertaken,-wrote repeatedly to Daud Khan and sought his aid in going to Kuch Bihar for conquering that

11. See F. 1

12. Here one section of my paper entitled 'Mir Jum'a's salutary influence on administration ends (109 a-b)', has been omitted as it has been translated in the *History of Bengal* Vol. II. 372.

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land. As Daud Khan paid no heed to it, Askar Khan felt helpless and engaged himself in bringing under control the *chakla* of Fatehpur, which before the advance of *Khan i Khanan* belonged to the Zamindar of that place. He also awaited the arrival of *Subahdar* (permanent) of high prestige.

As regards the good work of Daud Khan, one is the remission of *Zakat* on corn, to remove the scarcity at Dacca.[13] Before this, the poverty and scarcity had reached to such an extent on account of the excessive amount of the *Zakat* and the oppression of the *rahdars* that life appeared to be cheaper than bread and bread was not to be found. Having been informed of this, Daud Khan, in his greed for good reputation and reward, prohibited the collection of *Zakat* on corn. As the tax of *Zakat* yielded (III a) a large amount, the diwans hesitated to agree to this. Daud Khan said, "If this does not receive the sanction of the Emperor, the amount of the *Zakat* for the time that I shall remain here, will be deposited by me in the royal treasury from the collections of my own Jagir". And he said to Mirak Sultan and Rai Bhagwan Das that they should enter whatever he had said or done as a *waqai* and give effect to the same, and that they should write to the *mutasuddis* of the Court In short, the abolition of the *Zakat* on corn made corn cheap and food abundant and God's creatures, who had been victims of famine for two years, were relieved of the troubles of starvation and hunger. It was submitted to the Emperor, who approved of it; and it became a cause of the Khan's preferment.

(*112a*). *Repair of fleet ordered by the Emperor.*
(See Sarkar, *Studies in Auraungzib's reign*).

When Ibn. Hussain went to the court and was dismissed from the Superintendentship of the Bengal flotilla and a *farman* was issued to Mahmud Beg to the effect that he should, after the arrival of Shaista Khan, look after the affairs of the flotilla in the same way as during the time of Ibrahim Khan [14]. It was also noted in the *farman* that according to Daud Khan there were in Bengal no more than 25 *kistis* and (112 b) many of the view were absent and this service was in a great state of disorder. Ibn Hussain says that 600 or some boat were to be found in the *thanas* of Jahangirnagar and in Sairab (cruising) and other services and that except a few of those crew who had died in the Assam expedition or fled nobody was absent. The addressee should ascertain the quality, verify the small number and enquire into the true state of the fleet and submit an *arzdhasht*. The truth

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13. While Mir Jumla was engaged in the Assain expedition, a severe famine visited Bengal and lasted for nearly two years. Its causes have been discussed in Fl. 132-33. See also Fl. 149.

14. Mir Jumla could not deal effectively with some administrative problems of Bengal, the solution of which had become overdue ever since the time of Shujah Mir Jumla also had been asked by Aurangzib to regulate the flotilla according to the laws of Ibrahim Khan.

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is that although at that time the flotilla had become bad, it was becoming worse day after day. But the number of the boats was not so large as was claimed by Ibn. Hussain, nor so small, as was the contention of Daud Khan[15]. If the Nawab (Shaista Khan) had not reached Bengal and given his attention to the fleet, nobody could have traced any boat or heard of the names of sailors. In fact, within a few days the Nawab produced a strange miracle in this matter.

(*113 a*). *Cause of ruin of the Bengal flotilla.*
(Sarkar, *studies in Aurangzib's reign. 1191*)

In short Mahmud Beg who had not been favoured by any of these rulers, wished to take a few boats fit for riding in order to accord a reception to the Nawab and thus to get out Jahangirnagar. Daud Khan laid down that Mir Ghazi mansabdar should hasten with the boats to receive the Nawab. In the meanwhile came a letter of the Nawab to the effect that Mahmud Beg should bring the *Nawara.* He took it as a God-sent opportunity and on Rajab 12, 1074, he left with the flotilla to meet Shaista Khan, and sent the writer forward. At Jahangira near Monghyr on Shaban 9 (27 February 1664) the writer met Shaista Khan with Mahmud Beg. Shaista Khan entered the frontier of Bengal (114 a) on Shaban 16, 1064 (March 5, 1664) and reached Akbarnagar on Shaban 19, (March 8, 1664) .. ..(115 a) Daud Khan came from Jahangirnagar and saw the Nawab (? on Shabban 21, March 10). At the time of this departure he got two horses with embroidered saddles and proceeded to Bihar.

15. The flotilla accompanying Mir Jumla to Assam numbered at least 323. It is not clear what became of this fleet and of the naval gains in the Assam campaign.

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SECTION V

MODERN INDIA

President:

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SECTION V
MODERN INDIA
THE VELLORE MUTINY OF 1806.
A NEW STUDY OF ITS ORIGIN.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI

The "mutiny" at Vellore (July 1806) has been rightly held to be a rehearsal on a small scale of the Great Rising of 1857; but being only the first rehearsal, the sepoys fell even as they were rising. It "thrilled British India with a horror unparalleled until the latter event swept it into oblivion."[1]

An inquiry into the particular and immediate causes of this revolt is instructive. According to a contemporary Calcutta attorney, William Hickey, this Mutiny of the Sepoys, according to the popular version originated in a very mistaken and ill-judged order issued by Sir John Cradock, the Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army, enjoining particular changes in the head-dress and facial appearance of the sepoys. When the latter lodged a protest against the order, and begged to be excused from its operative effect, Cradock rejected the representations considering them be as exaggerated and absurd as disrespectful to Government.[2]

The practice of vaccination which had been introduced for sometime was represented as intended to advance the cause of Christianity; while the restrictions with regard to caste-marks on the forehead were equally hateful to the Hindus, and Edward Thornton observes "if the prejudices of the Hindoos are to be respected the feeling of offence was not unwarranted.[3]" He adds that Hindu resentment was not the main cause of the Mutiny; and few Hindus joined in it except at the instigation of the Muhammadans who were everywhere the promotors of disturbances.

There were simultaneous disturbances at Hyderabad, Nandideng, Palamcotta, Walajabad, Bellary, military centres, but the connection between the rising at Vellore and these manifestations could not be distinctly traced. At Hyderabad and outrageous rumours were believed in, including one that the Europeans were about to make a human sacrifice for sanctifying a church they had built. It was deemed necessary to publish a general order especially addressed to sepoy officers, stressing the principles upon which they had been employed in the company's service, and warning them of the consequences which would attend a departure from their duty.

The opinion that the Government had the aim of conversion in view was held by many others than the sepoys. Mir Alam, the veteran Minister of the Nizam, who had been always pro-English in attitude, expressed his "surprise that the British Government should think it just or safe to compel the troops to wear the semblance of Christians" and the same opinion was expressed by the Ministers of the Bhonsla. These views were communicated to Government by the

1. Thompson and Garratt *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India* 1934, page 241.

2. *Memoirs of William Hickey*, Vol. IV 1790–1809. ed. by A. Spencer (3rd ed. 1925) Ch XIX (1806).

3. The History of the British Empire in India. Vol IV, chapter. XXI

4. There was unrest in the subsidiary troops of Hyderabad which gave rise to serious apprehension of trouble, but the timely cantonment order of Captain Sydenham, the Resident and Col Montresor, the Cammander who took upon themselves to disobey the general orders of the Commander-in-Chief and declared that there was no intention, even in the smallest degree to interfere with the native religions and they directed the making of the new turbans to be suspended In the sequel it was proved that some of the nobles of Hyderabad had a hand in the disturbances and some officers had been taken in by them; but there was no evidence of their communication with Vellore except that similar fears operated alike in both centres. In Walajahbad, the order enforcing the use of the new turban was issued early in June and received some resistance which was promptly suppressed and puished.

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respective residents. Dewan Purnayya of Mysore also held that "the Hindus were more alarmed and dissatisfied than the Muhammedans."[5]

Sir Thomas Munro, then the Collector of the Ceded Districts writing to the Madras Governor, Lord William Bentinck on the 11th August 1806, held as follows: [6] "Occasional Mutinies have occurred since that period, but they were always partial, and had no other object than the removal of some particular grievance. The extensive range of the late conspiracy can only be accounted for by the General Orders having been converted into an attack upon religious ceremonies; and though the regulations had undoubtedly no such object, it must be confessed that the prohibition of the marks of castes was well calculated to enable artful leaders to inflame the minds of the ignorant, for there is nothing so absurd but that they will believe when made a question of religion. However strange it may appear to Europeans, I know that the general opinion of the most intelligent natives in this part of the country is, that it was intended to make the sepoys Christians."

Though the enforcement of the dress regulations was suspended in a few places, by the prudence of the commanding officers, they were generally understood to imply a design on the part of the Government to compel the sepoys to assume the practices, and, eventually to be forced to embrace the religion of the European. The sepoys believed: "We shall next be compelled to eat and drink with the outcast and infidel Englis, to give them our daughters in marriage, to become one people, and follow one faith." Besides the prohibition of the wearing of ear-rings and caste-marks and the order to trim beards and moustaches according to the standard model, there were introduced in their dress and accountrements a particular undress jacket, black leather stocks and a turn-screw which was suspected to symbolise the Cross, all of which had previously caused widespred dissatisfaction.

Even when Government declared its intention that they intended no harm to the religious susceptibilities of Indians the sepoys were slow to believe in their bona fides. Vellore, Hyderabad, Walajabad and Nandidrug, as well as other centres, may be regarded as expressing the excitement among the sepoys that prevailed during the year 1806. One view was that much of the excitement was due to the officers themselves who passed from one extreme to another, exchanging "the supineness of security for the restlessness of suspicion. They eagerly tried to gather even the smallest whispers of discontent and every idle rumour of tumult and insubordination and they were in "a constant fever of aimless apprehension." It took a long time before "the tranquillising operation of time, the repeated injunctions of both the local Government and that of Bengal to the officers to abstain from all manifestations of distrust, and the strongest assurances published to the troops that the British Government would ever respect their religious creeds", could allay apprehension and restore peace of mind.[8]

5. Lord William Bentinck Memorial to the Directors, 1810, page 45.

6. Gleig-Life of Sir Thomas Munro, Vol. 1. page 364.

7. Cradock was not responsible for the enforcement of the use of the jacket and leather stocks which were ordered by his predecessor. And when the turn-screw and the turban were introduced they proved to be the last drop of the cup. The turban resembling a hat was indentified in the native mind with the topi of the European and Christian-the *Topi Wallah* or hat-man was equally and commonly used for both the European and the Christian.

8. The panic wore away, the Sepoys forgot their fears of an attack upon their religion and the officers no longer slept with pistols under their pillows-Lord William Bentinck's Memorial. P. 40. The proclamation of the Madras Government allaying the fears, was belated, and issued only on the 3rd December 1806, the obvious justification being that it had to be issued after the enquiry was finished.

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The connection of the members of Tipu Sultan's family who were living in the fort with the genesis of the mutiny has been variously interpreted. According to H. Beveridge it was not the disaffection fostered by Tipu's adherents that was the primary cause of the Mutiny; but the deep-rooted hatred of the Muhammadans and Hindus to the rule of a Christian nation. Commenting on the degree of responsibility of Christian missionary activity for this, Professor H. H. Wilson is emphatically of the opinion that the Mutiny was not of a political character nor did it aim at the restoration of Tipu's dynasty. "Even with regard to the sons of Tippoo themselves, no proof could be elicited that they had been concerned in the conspiracy. There was no evidence that the communications made to the conspirators in their name had proceeded from them and it was clearly established that prior to the Mutiny they had never held personal intercourse with any of the insurgents. Although it appeared that during the tumult some of the Sipahis received refreshments at the houses of two of the princes, Mohiud-din and Muzi-ud-din, and that the Mysore flag was brought from the residence of the latter, yet it was also in evidence that they had shrunk from the clamorous invitations of the crowd to come forth and place themselves at their head and that they had carefully abstained from every word and deed which might implicate them in the riot. No suspicion whatever attached to the elder members of the family; the younger were of too tender an age to be cognizant of such a project; and the utmost criminality that could be charged against some of the intermediate members of the fraternity was the possibilty of their being aware of the agitation of a plot against the European part of the garrison, and their omission to give notice of it to the only European officer with whom they were allowed to communicate, Colonel Marriott.[9]"

Colonel Marriott, who was in charge of the Mysore princes at Vellore and who accompanied them to Calcutta, on their deportation, assured Hickey that "the selecting Moiz-oo-Deen as the object of peculiar severity was most cruel and unjust for that neither he, nor any of his brothers, or other branches of the family had any more to do with the insurrection than he (the Colonel) had, nor did it originate in any of their dependents or people. Nay, so far as Moiz-oo-Deen from attempting to make his escape from Vellore during the confusion as was pretended, he on the contrary sought for him (Colonel Marriott) and upon finding him seemed to be in the greatest distress of mind imaginable, repeatedly and earnestly expressing his hope that the mutineers might be quelled[10].

9. We learn from Hickey that at the very same time that this melancholy business was transacting at Vellore, a large body of Native troops doing duty within the Fortress of Seringapatam, Tippoo's late capital, mutinied, as was supposed, by a previous agreement entered into with the sepoy part of the garrison of Vellore. The circumstance was rendered the more serious and alarming by a Regiment of native Cavalry that were ordered out to quell the insurrection, instead of executing such orders, joined the mutineers, vowing to exterminate every Feringee in the country and restore the family of their legal Sovereign to the throne. His Majesty's 33rd Regiment and part of two other European Corps that were in the outworks of the Fort, assembling under arms with the utmost alacrity, and acting with a spirit of enthusiastic bravery, soon put an end to the mutiny, seizing several of the principal ringleaders and instantly, without the least ceremony, hanging them upon the spot.

10. Colonel Marriott further declared that "the suspicions raised against Moiz-oo-Deen and the other princes, originated to the Government of Madras, the members of which had propagated such report with the double view of quieting the minds of the people in general, and in order to pacify the remains of His Majesty's 69th Regiment, which continued in a state of dreadful insubordination, daily committing the most wanton and atrocious murders upon the unoffending natives, which they were induced to do by way of revenge for the deaths of their comrades who had been massacred within the walls of Vellore.

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The first opinion of the Government of Madras was that the Mutiny was evidence of a general plot among the Muhammadans of the Peninsula to regain their political ascendance. Sir George Barlow. then Governnor-General, doubted the reality of such a widespread conspiracy; thereupon Lord William Bentinck, retracted his first opinion. But General Cradock and several officers of the Madras Army persisted in this view, although they could adduce no conclusive proofs, except that of Subahdar Mustafa Beg recorded in Bentinck's Memorial, which, however, declared thus: "That the company's regiments had enlisted many of Tippoo's soldiers was well known, and that they and the Muhammadans generally were dissatisfied with the change of masters was highly probable; but there was no evidence of any agency set on foot by Tippoo's sons, and the discontent of the Hindu part of the army, much the most numerous, could scarcely be ascribable to intrigues in favour of a Muhammadan dynasty. The subahdar's information was merely individual belief, unsupported by evidence of facts."

The Mutiny at Vellore was not an ordinary case of military revolt. It was radically different in causes and sequel from the generality of military risings. One factor that contributed to the actual outbreak was that authority at Vellore was "so much divided as to destroy all unity of purpose, all energy, and nearly all responsibility. The Commanding Officer merely controlled the troops; the Collector was charged with the care of the police; and the Paymaster of Stipends had the custody of the Princes. This was "a departure from the original plan, by which the whole of those duties had been entrusted to the military commander and the change was far from judicious."

SHAH ALAM II's AGONY AND APPEAL

KALIKINKAR DATTA

Shah Alam's is indeed a highly tragic career in the eighteenth century history of India. Perverse destiny drove him from one extremity to another till he was subjected to acute miseries in the metropolis of an Empire over which his ancestors had ruled but of which nothing save a shadow then lingered to his great mortification. He had even to bear patiently severe bodily tortures including blinding of his eye by the Ruhela Chief Ghulam Qadir, who also heaped indignities on the members of the imperial family, including women and children, from 18th July to 2nd October, 1788.[1]

In this period of dire calamity and unspeakable agonies the unfortunate Mughal Emperor sent appeals for help in different quarters the most piteous one being to the Government of the English East India Company in Calcutta. Brief reference to his appeals are found in Cornwallis Correspondence by Ross [2] and in Calendar of Persian Correspondence. [3] Recently I obtained from the collections of the

1. For further details vide Sir J. N. Sarkar's *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. III, pages 430-442
2. Vol. I (Second Edition, 1859), page 307 and page 364.
3. Vol. VIII,

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National Archives of India, New Delhi, transcripts of records relating to Shah Alam II some of which contain significant details of his correspondence at that time, particularly with the English.

After Ghulam Qadir had entered Delhi on the 5th September, 1787, the Emperor thought it "expedient to humour him" by conferring on him the office of *Bakhsi-ul-Mamalik*. But this did not prevent the Afghan Chief from going against the Emperor, who was saved for some time by the assistance of Begam Samru and also turned to the English for help. He wrote the following letter to Colonel Gabriel Harper, then Resident of Luknow: [4]

"Golaum Ally Khan who is stationed from the Royal presence is sent to you agreeable to our desire. As you consider the performance of the duties of zeal and attachment to the Royal presence Superior to other considerations we write that you on understanding our commands, apply yourself immediately to the arrangement of the affairs of the Sultanut. It is necessary on receipt of this Shukka that you set out for the presence; in the event of any delay send Chief with troops and Battalions. Formerly Battalions were stationed with us; you will know what further are the desires of our Royal mind from Golaum Ally Cawn. You will introduce him in a proper manner to the Governor."

A similar letter was then addressed by him to the Governor General. He wrote a letter also to Nawab Asafuddaulah [5] to the following effect :—

"Repeated letters have been addressed to you my Son, and to the English but until this time no answers have been received.-Delays and neglects in such situations are highly objectionable. You must have learned from the Newspapers the Commotions which have arisen from all quarters within this Month past.-At this what wounds does not our mind feel? How can your friendship sincerity and zeal bear that we should pass our days in such troubles? This is not a time for delay-It is necessary to use every haste and expedition possible.-Rebellion admits of no remedy but hearty inclination.-The force and exertions of the Enemies of our Throne and the destruction of the foundation of the religion of Mahomed are attended with no advantages.-If this sect fixes itself in the neighbourhood of your Dominions it will be difficult to remove it and it can be now easily effected-The stream should be stopped at its source, you must consult on every affair with the English and speedily settle matters in a firm manner districts will be allotted like yours, send the deserts and wishes speedily to the presence, until you arrive yourself that they may receive our Royal approbation; but until you arrive send to me battalions by the way of Daranaghur".[6]

4. Sec. Cons. 24th October, 1787 No. 30. Harpar received this letter on 29th September, 1787

5. Sec. Cons. 24th October, 1787, No. 34 Asafuddaulah received this letter on the 30th September, 1787.

6. Daranagar, a small town on the left bank of the Ganges in Bijnor district. A detachment of British subsidiary force for the service of the Nawab Wazir was stationed there.

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The Governor General, Lord Cornwallis, while touring in north India received the following letter from Shah Alam[7] on the 4th October, 1787 :

"You will have learnt the particulars of the affairs of the Royal Presence from the Shukkas which have before written you on these subjects-at this time matters are thus.-The Rebel throwing off the veil in the fullness of his wickedness is meditating the ruin of the city the overthrow of the throne and the annihilation of the Sultanut-nor does he in the least desist from his Rebellion.-Immediately on understanding his desires we applied ourselves to oppose him with all our strength and war will soon commence. As we are perfectly satisfied and pleased with the services of the English Chiefs who have always shown their duty towards us, and these Chiefs swore to us that whenever in times of necessity we might send for them they would never be neglectful in obedience to our orders. Now as this rebel is prepared without any cloak or deception to ruin the city and to overthrow the Sultanut we write to you that no time can be better to assist the presence them (than ?) the present. It is necessary immediately on receiving this Shukka in consequence of the oath sworn to us that admitting not of the delay of a moment you repair to the presence and assist in repelling this rebel for the shortness of the opportunity admits of no delay notwithstanding that a great deal may be written on this subject judge it but as very little".

(In the King's own hand in pencil).

"And send a strong force the river from Daranagurh into the country of Colaum Kader Cawn to raise disturbances there that he may quit this place".

In another letter [8] received by the Governor General on the same day, Shah Alam stated :

"We have learned by the Newspapers that you are intending to send troops towards Akhberabad, my son (?) the affairs of the Royal presence are as follows.-The rebel of shallow reflection erroneously from the badness of his disposition and temper is meditating the destruction of the city and the overthrow of throne and it is evident that he will not in the least little desist. It is necessary for you immediately on receipt of the Royal Shukka to issue positive orders to the Battalions stationed on the Banks of the Ganges at Daranagurh to cross the river into the country of this rebel and create commotions in it that he may desist from his evil conduct and being reduced to distress return to that quarter, and you having the situation of the presence and the disturbances occasioned by this proud rebel in view should come without any delay to the presence". Do not make any procrastination. The full particulars of these matters have been before written to you (In the King's own hand in pencil).

Other particulars will be related by Gholam Ally Khan."

7. Sec. Cons. 24th October, 1787, No. 42.
8. Sec. Cons. 24th October, 1787, No. 43.

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In another correspondence [9] of Shah Alam to the Governor General, received by the latter on the 8th October, 1787, we read as follows :

"You have written that the Company seeing their honor in the duties of obedience have raised their Names by it, and wishing for peace with all mankind have maintained it with all Nations. We are fully convinced of the obedience of all the Chiefs of the Company. You also write that the Company have entered into friendship with the whole world—God be praised, nothing can be better than this among mankind. There is no difference between the King of England and us. The servants of this throne are the wellwishers of that. In light we consider all the chiefs of the English Nation without exception as our wellwishers.

My son (?) formerly when Major Brown, and after him, Mr. Anderson attended the Royal presence the King of England gave positive orders to the Company that whoever should deviate from the Paths of obedience and service to us should be severely punished, and an arzee to this purport was written us by the Company. It is well-known that the Company are strict in adherence to their treaties and engagements. Formerly a treaty was entered into between us and the Company, that the enemies of this throne were the enemies of that and the wellwishers and friends of this Court were the real wellwishers of that and that the observance of this engagement shall be evinced on both sides in future.

At present Golaum Kader Cawn came to the Royal presence from his own authority and was honored with Royal favor, and notwithstanding the Royal kindness bestowed on him, his evil mind leading him across the river he was guilty of disturbance and improper acts contrary to the duties of allegiance and obedience, and former schemes of rebellion wishing that the whole of the Royal affairs should be stopped for his advice and counsels, and entertained this idea in his mind. This did not meet our approbation and we are engaged and prepared in opposing him with such troops as are attending our Royal person.

In this case we write to you, that as an observance of the former engagements considering his punishment and chastisement as incumbent above all other deeds you write positive orders to the troops stationed on the Banks of the Ganges at Daranaghur to cross the River and commence hostilities in the countries and districts appertaining to this Rebel that he being under the influence of fear and apprehension may return to that quarter.

As we consider you the strength of our Throne and the English chiefs have at all times and on all occasions shown their obedience and service we have no doubt that you will receive the Royal approbation by enforcing our orders.

With respect to the appearance of you and my son the Vizier at the Royal presence we have written repeatedly to you-our desire to see you and the Vizier exceeds all description and we were anxious that you should both come under this plea-we shall be happy and pleased at seeing you and the Vizier.

(9) Sec. Cons 24th October, 1787, No. 36.

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As we are convinced of and are waiting for a proper arrangement of the affairs of the Sultanut from the Vizier it is necessary that he should repair to the Royal presence during such time as these, and execute the affairs of the Sultanut."

In reply the Governor General stated[10] on the 10th October, 1787.

"I have been honored with the Royal Shukka repeating your Majesty's Commands to attend the presence.

Your Majesty's representations both to the Vizier and to myself of the present commotions that surround the throne and of your Royal distresses have made the deepest impression on my mind; but your Majesty will be sensible that in my public situation I am not at liberty to act from my private feelings.

It would be unworthy of my own personal character and of the character of the English Nation to hold forth hopes to your Majesty or to make promises which I know that I could not perform.

A regard for the truth renders it therefore necessary for me to declare that whilst the princes and states of India abstain from offering injury or insult to the Dominions and subjects of the Company; or to those of our allies, the Laws of my country and the particular orders of the Company and of my own native sovereign positively forbid me to engage in any hostilties whatever.

The Vizier is closely connected with us in the strictest bonds of alliance and friendship and I know that he is determined to maintain the same pacific line of conduct.

Under these circumstances altho' it gives me pain to be witness to the evils that have been represented I have no power to apply any remedy to them. But I will with great sincerity assure your Majesty that it would give me the highest satisfaction to hear that your Royal mind was restored to comfort and happiness."

The Government General communicated to John Shore on the same date:

"I have received several melancholy Shukkas from the King (Shah Alam) calling on me in the most pressing terms for assistance and support. This morning I wrote a letter perfectly civil and respectful but without all that jargon of allegiance and obedience, in which I stated most explicitly the impossibility of our interference".[11]

But in his utter distress the Mughal Emperor continued to appeal to the Calcutta Government. He again wrote[12] to Lord Cornwallis in March, 1781 :

(10) Sec. Cons 24th October, 1787, No 37.
(11) Ross, Cornwallis Correspondence, Vol I, P. 307.
(12). For. Sect. and Pol Progs, the 24th March, 1788. The Governor General received this letter on the 17th March, 1788.

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"At the time we resided at Illahabad, such services as were performed by the Nawaub Vizeer and the English surpass discription and are well known after that period when we came to Delhi we nominated Zoalficar-ul-Dowlah deceased with Troops and artillery in order to take Agra and to punish the Jaats. By the help of God and the fortune of Majesty what was our wish was perfectly accomplished and Zoalficar-ul-Dowla performed the duties of respect for 12 years and the Royal affairs were managed according to the desire of the wellwishers of the Throne after his Death in consequence of Contentions and disagreements between the Persons of Shallow Reflection brought forward by the Deceased. Disputes arose, Scindia paid his Respects to us and was treated with the Royal favor in the Environs of Agra notwithstanding that in several matters such as giving us possession of half the Topekhana (Artillery) of Zoalficar-ul-Dowla and the capture of Agra which is the footstool of our Throne, he acted adverse to Engagements, still he was not neglectful in supplying the Disbursements of the Presence knowing we were well inclined towards Jypoor. The Rajah Pertaub Singh, agreeable to the Royal orders, made himself, answerable for the amount he used to pay thro' Zoalficar-ul-Dowla, Scindia not satisfied with his wishes to take possession of the Country and Raje of Pertaub Singh inspite our Royal Prohibition that the Rajah was a servant of the Presence from the time of his ancestors and we had bestowed the Teeka (Thika) of Rajah upon him, that this conduct was not proper what was to happen, came to pass. At that time from the Defeat of Scindias Troops, Golaum Kader Khan in Conjunction with a few Troops of Selks shewed his Disloyalty notwithstanding that we wrote stronly to Scindia, who was then in the neighbourhood of Alwar to come to the presence and punish Golaum Khan, he did not comply, nor did he pay the money that was settled for the Royal Expences after this, the scattered army assembled to repel Golaum Kader Khan, and his repulsion was effected Scindia in the intention of coming to the Presence, arrived at Rewary ahd dispatched Apajee to us notwithstanding his dilatoriness in coming to the presence it was our intention that he should arrive and in conjunction with the Royal army engage in the punishment of of Golaum Kader Khan. At this time, the Prince came to Agra and joining with Ismail Beg Khan sent Rajah Himmut Behadre to summon the Rajahs from the situation of the times we informed Scindia verbally thro' Apajee Row that until the arrival of the Prince he should remain in that Country afterwards he might act as he pleased as his Troops could not maintain their Ground, they were compelled to go towards Agra and being defeated by Ismail Beg, they crossed the Chumbul you are acquainted with the Present situation of affairs and every day brings you accounts of the situations of the Chiefs of the Royal Presence who entertain improper ideas notwithstanding a knowledge of these particulars, you, who are the support of the Throne, consider and learn these events and cirumstances from afar and do nothing to Remedy them, this is astonishing. As it is our sincere wish that the arrangement and settlement of the grand affairs of the Country should be accomplished thro' the advise of your prudence and that of our son the Vizeer and be rendered flourishing, we therefore write, that you communicate to us what appears to you advisable and proper in every matter, that it may meet

with the Royal approbation. Out of Regard to respect it is advisable, that you send one of your confidants accompanied by one from the Vizeer to the Presence, that he may learn the secrets of the Royal Heart, and that whatever may be advisable may be represented to us on your part and that of the Vizeer and written to you. Afterwards a person from you with 4 or 5 Battalions and 30 or 40 pieces of Cannon and another from the Vizeer in the manner of Litafut Ally Khan with 4 or 5 Battalions and Cavalry may remain at the presence to strengthen the Sultanut and punish the rebels if any obstacle occurs, inform us thereof, that we may dispatch one ot our own confidants to Lucknow to commnicate our desires. In this case you will write to the Vizeer, Mr. Ives and Major Palmer to act according to our inclination, and yours and the Vizeers Prudence and foresight, and to arrange the Royal affairs in such manner as shall publish to the world yours and the Vizeers Alligiance and Fedility."

Lord Cornwallis observed in his reply, dated 21st March,1788 :—

"It affords me the highest satisfaction to perceive the reliance your Majesty is pleased to place on the Company during the times of disobedience in the Royal servants-But at the same time I feel great unhappiness that your Majesty should conceive that I am not aware of the contentions that at present surround the Throne but remain a spectator of them at a distance. When in the neighbourhood of Furruckabad I did myself the honour of replying to your Majesty Shukkas's on this subject and represent the affliction which I experienced on the present state of affairs stating fully the situation in which as under the immediate direction and control of another Power to whom I am answerable for my administration of the Company's concer's I was totally secluded from any interference in the present unhappy disputes a further declaration of such a situation is unnecessary because I am convinced that your Majesty's knowledge of the World will induce your Royal mind to understand thoroughly what I have before represented and I am sensible that your Majesty's justice will concide in the propriety of my present conduct and in the justness of my former representations trusting that Your Majesty will honor me by considering me one of yours Majesty's faithful wellwishers will favor me with frequent Shukkas."

What exactly Lord Cornwallis had in his mind is clear from the following contents of his letter to Majore Palmer, dated Calcutta, 16th August, 1788:

"I do not think that, under our present orders from the Court of Directors, and the existing Acts of parliament, we should be justified by the late violent proceedings of Golaum Kadir Khan in interfering in the disturbances of the Upper Provinces nor do I see that we are called upon to do it, either by motives of honour or interest, or even of humanity.

The unfortunate Shah has been long since in fact deposed; without however, money, or troops, he has been a wretched pageant in the hands of the Prince or State which happened at the time to be the most powerful of his neighbours. If we should now free him from Golaum Kadir Khan, unless we could give him an army and a permanent fund for the payment of it, he would immediately again become the slave and perhaps the prisoner of some othe tyrant'[13]

(13) Ross, of cit. Vol I. page 364.

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GLIMPSES OF THE CULTURAL HISTORY OF THE MARATHA EMPIRE

SARDAR M.V. KIBE.

It is a misrepresentation of History that the Maratha Empire was based on the protection of cows and Brahmins. The misunderstanding has been caused by the reference of needy persons to these features and by the bestowal of the qualification of "GO-BRAHMAN PRATIPALAK". गो बरामन पीतपालक by some people after the Maratha Empire had been consolidated on the ruins, which it inflicted on the Mohamadan kingdom in the Deccan and on the Mughal Empire, in the greater part of India.

As a matter of fact the honorofic "The protector of cows and Brahmins" is symbolic. Cows is the Symbol of material prosperity and Brahmins that of learning. The Empire was neither based on, nor woven round, the actual protection of the cows only, nor that of the Brahmins. But as common people do not realize the real significance of the symbols, the obvious meaning of these two terms became popular. Long before the Maratha Empire had become a substantial kingdom, the physical protection of cows and the feeding of the Brahmins was prevalent throughout the Rajput kingdoms and Akbar too had stopped the slaughter of cows in the Mughal Empire.

Shivaji, the Great, the founder of the Maratha Empire, laid stress on the productivity of the soil, the Industries, the protection of the useful animals and of the promotion of learning. Evidence of these activities is found scattered throughout the documents of the period of Shivaji. His was not a theocratic state but was purely a secular one. He formed his Government on the lines laid down in the "Shukra Niti", an old treatise in Sanskrit on polity. So much so, the basis of this Government was Justice tempered with regard for private property, not only tolerance but respect for religious beliefs of the subject people, promotion of learning and of arts and crafts, that he did not even take shelter under the policies laid down in Chanakya's Arthashastra, better known as Chanakya Niti. Shivaji's Minister of Justice gave his decisions based on "Smritis", the law books coming from ancient times in this country. As the Musalmans have always been a theoratic people, their civil disputes even, were decided by their priests known as Kazis. A pamphlet on politics, including civics, written by one of the Ministers of Shivaji, has come down to us which fully bears the statement as regards the secular kingdom of Shivaji.

General Sir John Malcolm in his monumental report on Malwa, paid homage to the Great Queen Devi Ahilya Bai Holkar for her promotion of the Maratha culture—known as Maharashtra Dharma, so named by Ramdas Swami.

Queen Ahilya Bai Holkar of Indore was the repository of the best Hindu Culture. Whatever action she took, contains the quintesscence of it. In whatever she did in Civics, Politics or the religious sphere, she was guided by the culture.

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The following are a few illustrations of what has been previously aid :—

In 1780 she issued an order to the Kamavisdar of Khajrana under Khasgi (Indore District) that in the village there was a grant of 15 Bighas of land to a Darga from ancient time but it was not in the possession of the worshipper of it. It should be continued.

On the 6th November 1786, she wrote a letter to Rajeshree Keshav Ganesh Kunte at Poona that it is proper that Rajeshree Ganpatrao Vishnu should not harm his servants. It is proper that he should protect them. His father had acquired everything by his valour but did not do away with his servants. Therefore if the former continues to entertain them they will prove useful to him and will add to his glory.

In 1777, she wrote to Rajeshri Appaji Ram Palshikar one of her Jahagirdars—that she had heard that he was not keeping good health and therefore she was sending to him clerk Ramji Trimbak, who will communicate her wishes to him. "I feel that you should adopt a boy. If by his good luck a son of the body is born then it will be the best". But he should not hestitate to do what she has desired to do. He should have good medical treatment.

After the death of the above named person, on 21-6-1778, she wrote to her son Tukoji Rao Holkar that she regretted to learn about the death of Appaji Ram Palshikar. He was told to adopt a boy but for want of time it could not be done. "He was our dependent ; his estate should be continued. Therefore you should select a small boy of the same Gotra and bring about the adoption so that the estate may continue".

Queen Ahilyabai's envoy at the court of the the Nizam of Hyderabad, in a letter dated 16th April 1791, wrote that in the south at all holy places "you have built temples and flights of steps on the banks of the holy rivers, but I have not yet heard of your having done anything near the Malikarjun temple, which is a famous shrine. You have written to the Nizam which letter I shall submit to him and obtain his permission to build a temple according to the plan sent by you".

N.B. :—Her letter to the Nawab of Oudh for permission to erect a shrine and build steps to a holy reservoir in Naimisharanya was similarly honoured by him.

In her letter dated 8-7-1781, to Abaji Vishnu, Revenue Officer at Rampura, she wrote that the village of Khajuri had been in the possession of late Appaji Ram Palshikar. Lately it was confiscated by the State. But as the family has been dependent on the State from old times, the village should be restored to him.

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On the death of Appaji Ram Palshikar, she wrote to his son as follows :— "Your letter has been received. You have performed the obsequies of your father. Now you should follow in the foot-steps of your father and keep up his reputation. It seems that you will act like that and if you do so you will be protected".

On 21-10-1785, she wrote to the above named Ramrao Appaji that she had heard that one Pandurang Kokji having committed some fault in his service has been put into custody. As the said Kokji Mahadeo has been in service since long and "faithfully served your father you should release him".

On 1-1-1787 Rajashri Ramrao Appaji wrote to her that west of his mansion at Maheshwar there was an exit window from the Alms house of the State for going to the river Narbada. Owing to it his house is disturbed. Therefore the Superintendent of the Alms house may be warned. In reply to it she informed him that the repairs to the exit will be oversoon and there will be no further trouble to his house.

The following are examples of her consideration for the needy :—

(i) She maintained an Alms House at the source of the river Kshipra,

(ii) at the source of Narmada ;

(iii on the banks of Tapti ;

(iv) at Kalegaon on Mula ;

(v) at Tonke on Godawari ; and

(vi) at Perse and at Jamgaon.

The temples erected by the orders of Queen Ahilyabai are monuments of architecture and took several years to be built—such temples are at Alampur on the ground where Maharaja Malhar Rao Holkar, the Ist, cremated, the temple at Gaya on Vishnupada, that of Vishweshar at Kashi and that at Prabhaspatan on the site of the Somnath temple destroyed by Muhmad Gazanavi and some others in the Holkar territory also. The Rt. Hon'ble the Governor General of India Lord Ellenborough in his letter, dated Simla the 17th November 1848, wrote to Maharaja Hari Rao Holkar regarding the Somnath temple in the following words". "When the piety and munificence of the great and good Princess Ahilyabai, Your Highness' illustrious relative, restored the ancient temple of Somnath, which the barbarous fury of Sultan Mahmud destroyed 800 years before, it would seem as if some prophetic spirit had animated her soul and as if she must have seen in a vision of the mind the coming glories of India, the triumphant march of its armies through Afganistan and the restoration to its people of the Sandal wood gates of that revered temple so long in ruins".

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THE SETTLEMENT OF WASTE LANDS IN OUDH AFTER THE MUTINY

DR. NANDLAL CHATTERJI, M.A., PH.D., D. LITT.

A study of the land revenue system in Oudh in the post-Rebellion period shows that the question of waste lands constituted one of the complicated problems that the local authorities had to face in respect of land settlement [1].

It was in 1870 that the matter was finally settled, and a set of new regulations was framed for purposes of lease and sale of waste lands[2].

The regulations drawn up in respect of the lease of waste lands may be summed up as follows :—

1. The total area of any one grant was not to exceed 4000 acres of culturable land [3].

2. No grant was to be made till the land was surveyed and mapped.

3. The assessment was to be levied on three fourths of the culturable area included in the grant according to a sliding scale.

4 The maximum assessment was to be reached in the 29th. year. The lease was to be for 50 years.

5. The rates leviable on each acre brought into cultivation would be gradually increased [4].

6. The right of the public to roads in the grant was not to be interfered with.

7. If no commencement was made to clear the land within the first year of the lease, the grant might be declared void. If the assessable area was not cleared according to the prescribed schedule, the grantee would be liable to fine [5].

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1. Letter from the Financial Commissioner, Oudh to the Deputy Commissioner, No 213-4276 of 18th December, 1871. File No. 1316 of 1871.

2. Circular No. 97-6872 of 1870, August 18, 1870, from the Financial Commissioner, Oudh Lucknow.

3. The standard of measurement was the British acre of 4840 sq. yds.

4. The following details would illustrate the rate of of increase :

For every 100 acres	Year	Rs.	as.	gundas
	1st to 3rd	nil		
	4th	0.	15.	0
	5th	2.	5.	15
	6th	4.	4.	5
	7th and so on	6.	10.	10

5. Fine of 4 anna for every acre.

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8. The cultivated portions of the grant were to be considered KHALISAH MEHALS i.e., estates paying revenue to Government.

9. The grant was not to confer a right of property in the spontaneous products of the land, or in the minerals lying on or beneath the surface.

10. For the preservation of the public peace, the grantee was to maintain a chowkidar [6] for every 60 houses families resident on the grant.

11. Grants were to be put up to public auction, and were to be assigned to the highest bidders.

The regulations [7] for the sale of unassessed waste lands were as follows :—

1. The lots were not to exceed 5000 acres and in the hill districts no grant of tea lands was to exceed 2000 acres The upset price was to be per acre Rs. 5 for the cultivated and Rs. 2/8 for the uncultivated land.

2. The cost of survey [8] was to be borne by the grantees.

3. The Deputy Commissioner was to advertise [9] each lot for sale in the Gazette and in two newspapers of Lucknow If a claim was preferred by some to a right in the land, the Deputy Commissioner was to give due consideration to it [10] At noon of the day of sale, the lots were to be sold to the highest bidder at or above the upset price (i.e., 5 or 2/8 according to the nature of the soil).

4. The cases [11] were to be as follows :

Road Fund	1 per cent
School Fund	1 per cent
District Dak	1/4 ,, ,,
Margin	1/4 ,, ,,

5. The right of way enjoyed by the public was to be maintained.

The settlement of waste lands was based on the specific agreement that the grants were to be surveyed at the end of the 5th, 10th, and 20th years, and were to be forfeited to the Government, if one-eighth, one-fourth, and half of the cultivated area was not, at each inspection respectively proved to be under cultivation. From this it would appear that all grants were liable to periodical inspection and survey. In any case, where holders of waste lands had in good faith exerted themselves to fulfil the requirements of the rules, a short grace might be allowed to them.

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6. The Chowkidar was to receive 5 acres of good land rent-free, or a monthly allowance of not less than Rs. 2/8.

7 Revenue Resolution of the Governor General in Council No. 3264 of 17th Oct. 1861.
Orders of the Supreme Government, No. 4206 of 15th Aug. 1862.

8 Rs. 4 per 100 acres.

9. Resolution No. 1012 A of 17th Sept. 1862 (Vide Section 12).

10. Act XXIII of 1863.

11. In calculating these cases the land revenue was to be assumed to be one-twentieth of the purchase money.

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SOME IMPERIAL FARMANS ADDRESSED TO THE RULERS OF JODHPUR.

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA BISHESHWAR NATH REU.

Here I give the extracts of 7 Farmans and 2 letters found in the office of the Mir Munshi of Jodhpur State and addressed to the rulers of Jodhpur.

Among them 3 Farmans and 1 letter are from Ahmadshah Durrani (1747-1773 A. D.) the king of Kabul, 2 from Shah Alam II (1759-1806 A. D.) of Delhi, 1 from Taimur Shah Durrani (1773-1793 A. D.) of Kabul and 1 from Mehmud Shah Durrani (1800-1829 A. D.) of Kabul. They are addressed to Maharaja Bijayasingh (1752-1793 A. D.=1809-1850 V. S.) and Maharaja Bhimsingh (1793-1803 A. D.=1850-1860 V.S.) of Jodhpur.

Farman No. 1

This was issued by Ahmadshah Durrani, the king of Kabul and was addressed to Maharaja Bijayasingh. It acknowledges the receipt of the letter of the Maharaja received through Jan-nisar Khan, the the Governor of Multan and Derajat, complaining against the Mahrattas, who had upset conditions in his (Maharaja's) country without any reason. It further states that instructions had again been issued to the Nobles that the traditional friendship and good relations which existed between the great Afghan tribes and the Rajputs and had also continued from the establishment of this kingdom should continue. Several petitions of the rulers of those parts had been received from the beginning of this auspicious march to this day. His king's) nobles had heard about the Mahratta raids on the country, therefore, after returning from Iran he (the king) had marched towards that side. But it being winter season he had camped at Kandhar and had deputed the army garrisoned in Sind for the help of Marwar, which on reaching there, would stop the Mahratta invaders. But in case the situation worsens then those courtiers, who were in touch with these affairs, might be apprised of the situation, so that he (the king) might personally proceed to Marwar and give full attention to the matter. Letters had also been sent to Maharatta nobles. If they atoned for their faults and desisted from their activities, so much the better, otherwise they would reap what they had sown. He (the Maharaja) should continue to send letters about his affairs.

Dated 17th Safar 1169 A. H. (22nd November, 1755 A. D.=or Mangsir vadi 3, 1812 V. S.)

Farman No. 2

This was written by the same king Ahmadshah Durrani of Kabul to Maharaja Bijayasingh. It states that he, who had kept firmness up till then, should keep himself assured as the flags, which had conquered the world had been moved towards that side to punish the disloyal people. He (the king) to-day i.e. on the 19th Rabi-ul-akhir (8th

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December 1759 A. D.= or Paush vadi 5, 1816 V. S.) had encamped at Khizrabad. There on the bank of the Jumna he would encamp for 5 or 6 days. By the grace of God that tribe of Janku etc. (Maharattas) would prove a fodder of the swords of the brave Ghazis. After punishing them he (the king) himself would proceed to that side and he (the Maharaja) himself would meet him there and achieve his desires by the Royal favours.

Dated 19th Rabil-ul-Akhir 1173 A. H. which falls on 8th December 1759 A. D.=or Poush Vadi 5, 1816 V. S.

Farman No. 3

This was addressed by Emperor Ahmad Shah Durrani of Kabul to Maharaja Bijayasingh It states that as by the grace of God the water of the river was then subsiding and roads were free, he (the king) within a few days would cross the river with a large army and punish the gang of the miscreants.

At present Savai Madhosingh (of Jaipur) had also offered his personal as well as his army's services and he (the king) had called him (Savai Madhosingh) and the other rulers of those parts, with their respective contingents, to the Royal Court. As he (Maharaja Bijayasingh) was also his (king's) well-wisher he too should come soon with his retainers to the Court.

Dated 1st Rabi-ul-avval 1174 A. D. (11th October 1760 A. D. or Ashvin Sudi 2, 1817 V. S.)

Letter No. 1

This was perhaps written by king Ahmadshah Durrani of Kabul to Maharaja Bijayasingh. It states that on the request of (Maharaja) Madhosingh (of Jaipur) he (the king) had sent Najibuddaula with an army to help him and turn out the miscreants. The Maharaja too should help him (Madhosingh) with his army in conjunction with imperial army under the command of Najibuddaula.

Neither the name of the writer nor the date is given in this document.

Farman No. 4

This was written by Emperor Shahalam II, in his 12th regnal year, and was addressed to Maharaja Bijayasingh. It states that Sayyad Mohammad Fazil had lived in Nagaur from the beginning and was a respectable person. Therefore those weavers, who had insulted him, should be punished and every favour should be shown to this Sayyad.

Dated 22nd Jamadi-ul-akhir, 1184 A. H (12th regnal year) (13th October 1770 A. D. or Kartik vadi 9, 1827 V. S.)

It contains neither the name of the Emperor nor his seal.

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Farman No: 5

This Sanad was issued by Emperor Shah Alam II of Delhi, in his 17th regnal year to Maharaja Bijayasingh. It proclaims the grant of Raisina (or New Delhi), situated in the suburb of Delhi, as his (Maharaja's) hereditary jagir free from all the Imperial dues etc.

It is dated 9th Jamadi-ul-Akhir (7th August 1775 A. D.=Shravan Sudi 11, 1832 V. S.).

Besides 'Tughra' this Sanad contains 3 seals and 4 endorsements as under :—

Seals :—

(1) Imperial seal having the names of Emperor's 14 predecessors along with his own name, A. H. 1173 and regnal year 1.

(2) Vazir's seal containing the name of Asaf-ud-Daula, A. H. 1190 and regnal year 17.

(3) Khanazad Khana's seal, containing regnal year 16.

Endorsements :—

(1) It states that copy of this Sanad was taken on 2nd Rajab of the 17th regnal year.

(2) Entered in the register on 2nd Rajab of the 17th regnal year corresponding to A. H. 1189.

(3) copy taken in the office of the high priest on 2nd Rajab regnal year 17.

(4) The details may be entered according to the office register. Village Raisina, which was in the Jagir of Maharaja Bakhatsingh and afterwards had passed on to Mohammad Murad Khan for generations, was second time resorted to Maharaja Bijaysingh in regnal year 2. But then it remained in the Jagir of Rai Aman and recently lapsed to Khalsa. It being his ancestral Jagir, was again granted to Maharaja Bijayasingh and his descendants generation after generation by way of reward from the Rabi crop of "Quil" year. Dated 26th Jamadi-ul-Ahhir (24th August, 1775 A. D.=Bhadaun vadi 13, 1832 V. S.)

Farman No 6.

This was perhaps issued by King Taimur Shah (son of Ahmadshah) Durrani of Kabul, and was addressed to Maharaja Bijayasingh. It acknowledges the letter of the Maharaja stating that he was extremely sorry to know the victory of the enemy and dislocation of his (King's) arrangements. It further states that the Maharatta trouble, which was once suppressed, had not yet been completely crushed. They had plundered the Imperial artillery. The sun of the Mughal Empire was setting. Every effort would be made to remove this calamity. By the grace of God this brother (the Maharaja) had 50,000 horses and foot and Maharajadhiraj Indra (Rajendra) Pratapsingh[1] was also present and Navab Ahtashamuddaula Mirza Mohammad Ismail Begh Khan Firoz Jang had 30,000 horse and foot.

1. He was the ruler of Jaipur from 1778-1803 A D.

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As soon as the enemy moved on that side, he would be destroyed and driven away. As Alijah Azduddaula and other big nobles were ready to help him (the King), the enemy would be soon annihilated. The Maharaja was also invited to uproot the enemy. It was only bad luck that the Maharaja had to face a strong enemy, otherwise it was not difficult to drive out the mischiefmongers from Sind.

Owing to the difficulty of the journey and the unhappy accidents on that side, he (the King) was feeling uneasy. He intended to settle the affairs of Sind and Hind (India) simultaneously. But as willed by God, one or the other difficulty cropped up. At Bahawalpur camp it appeared that both the desires would be attained. But the news of the revolt in Turkistan reached there and he had to postpone those affairs and to return. At present 30,000 horse and foot had assembled in Sind and it seemed that the menace would be removed. After making good the previous losses he (the King) had to call the armies to the Court and thus every thing was upset. The people may not change sides as before, during hostilities, therefore the Kinsmen of the enemy (who were not in league with them) may be given assurances. When Alijah Azduddala, Sardar Moazzam Ulla and Ibn Shaki Didar decide to attack the enemy, he (the Maharaja) would be informed to give aid the them. The news which had been conveyed through Shekh Rahmatulla privately might be taken as sent by him (the King).

When that grand noble pitched his camp at Dera Ghazi Khan, he called this friend (the King) repeatedly, but he (the King) did not consider it advisable to move further on than Multan. But when he (the King) received letter from the aforesaid Sardar, and Alijah Azduddaula Khan and his men came there entreating him and giving assurances, then relying on the will of God and even without sufficient equipment he decided for the long journey.

It bears neither the name of the writer nor the date.

Letter No 2.

This was written by some noble and was prehaps addressed to Maharaja Bijayasingh. It states that on the occasion of the victory the Eastern and Western kinsmen had requested for pardon, which had been given. He was much satisfied with the eloquence of Gusain Kalyanraya. He also requested the Maharaja to cement this friendship for ever.

It contains neither the name of the writer and addressee nor the date.

Farman No. 7.

This was written by King Mehmudshah Durrani of Kabul and was addressed to Maharaja Bhimsingh. It mentions about his (King's) Victory over Prince Shuja-ul-Mulk and other nobles.

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It is dated 7th Jamadi-ul-avval, 1217 A. H. (5th September 1802 A. D.-Bhadaun Sudi 8, 1859 V. S.)

It further states that the letter of Khvaja Mohammad Khan Durrani Fofalzai and Sardar Abdulvahid, Khan Durrani Barakzai, Deputy Governor of Peshawar, received from Chapra, stating that Prince Shuja-ul-Mulk, after his defeat had hidden himself, with a small band of followers, in the Khebar and he (Shuja-ul-Mulk) collecting the rebel Afghans of the place, had marched to subdue Peshawar. When he remained about 3 miles away from Peshawar, the aforesaid nobles, with the Durrani contingent, faced him and made his followers disperse. Several of them were put to sword and several went into hiding with the prince in the mountain-caves who would soon be captured.

At present Abdul-rahim Hotaki, yielding to the temptation of leadership, collected the Ghilchai tribe, which was a brave fighting tribe, and instigating Fateh Barbakrazai and Shamshuddin Ozbini and uniting them with the Ghilchai tribe raised the banner of revolt at Ashpan and Jalalabad and harassed the people. Further he along with a contingent of Ghilchai troops marched through Charkh and Kurdez to conquer Kabul. Receiving this information he (the King) deputed Navab Fatehkhan Durrani, with a number of other nobles, to punish Fateh Babakrazai and Shamsuddin Ozbini etc. They, after crossing the Chakri Pass, fought with the enemy. Shamsuddin Ozbini had received two cuts of sword and Fateh Babakrazai fleeing from the field, fled towards the mountains. Our nobles had pursued them like leopards. They (Fateh Babakrazai) would soon be captured and punished. Another contingent had been sent towards Kurdez under Navab Ahmad Khan Durrani and many other nobles to punish Abul-Rahim. Before this contingent was dispatched a band of soldiers was also sent with Amir Rahamdilkhan etc. A battle took place near the fort of Chun which lasted for the whole day long and at the end unfortunate Abdulrahim, finding himself overwhelmed entered the Valley of Tehmur. In the fight, which was fought in the way, 2000 of his followers were killed and he himself.

(The remaining portion of this firman is missing)

JEAN LAW'S "MILITARY MEMOIRE ON INDIA" (1780)

S. P. Sen,

Behind the despatch of an expeditionary force to India under the command of Bussy during the War of American Independence, there lay a long story of careful and elaborate planning in France by men who had served in India for many years and had acquired a thorough knowledge about the intricacies of the Indian political situation. At the instance of the Minister of Marine and Colonies various schemes were submitted to the French Government, differing widely in many essential points, like the size of the expeditionary force required, relations with different country powers, and the objective and plan of military operations. Some of these schemes,

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no doubt, e. g. the one submitted by Chevalier,[1] were based more on imagination than on reality, but there were others revealing a more accurate grasp of the Indian political situation. One of the most remarkable of the several schemes put forward was the "Military Memoire on India (1780)" by Jean Law de Lauriston.[2] This rather lengthy manuscript document, preserved in the Pondicherry Archives is interesting both for its contents as well as for its author. Jean Law de Lauriston is quite a well known figure in the history of India in the second half of the 18th century. He was the Chief of the French Factory at Kasimbazar in 1757 when the English captured it; after which he started on his career of wandering and adventure, taking service under Prince Ali Gauhar, heir to the Mughal Emperor, and being taken prisoner by the English. Finally, he became the Governor of Pondichery after the conclusion of the treaty of Paris in 1763. During the years of adventurous wandering he came in close contact with many notable Indian Princes, statesmen and generals, and thus acquired an intimate and detailed knowledge about the political and military situation in India. A plan of military operations put forward by such a person cannot but be interesting to students of Indian history of this period.

The "Memoire" begins with a discussion about the immediate necessity of sending a strong expenditionary force to India, first because if England retained her position of supremacy in India it would give her an undue dominance in the European political system, and second because England could not be defeated in Europe unless the steady flow of wealth from India could be stopped by a direct attack. It was a complete illusion to think that a victory over the English in America would enable the French to gain quiet possession of large territories in India by the Peace Treaty.

Law next dealt with the four theatres of operations against the English in India and the prospect of gaining allies among the country Powers. "The Memoire sent to the Minister in 1768 dealt with four points of attack; they also form the subject of consideration in the observations given below, but circumstances have changed greatly through the loss of all our settlements. Under the existing circumstances, the first two points (Bengal and the Coromandel coast) offer the greatest difficulty for any enterprise. It is impossible to take the risk of attacking Bengal, unless in the meantime a diversion had been prepared in the north with the assistance of some Indian Powers. As regards the Coromandel coast, the whole of it must be regarded as hostile country unless the Danes or the Dutch like to facilitate our landing ..... The last two points of attack (the coasts of Orissa and Malabar) are the only ones which remain for us to take, and of the two, preference must be given, in my opinion, to the coast of Malabar".

"I believe with M. de Bellecombe and M. Chevalier that it is necessary to begin with the destruction of the English fleet, if it be

1. See Author's Paper—Indian Historical Records Commission, 25th Sessions 1948.

2. No. 321, Manuscrits des Anciennes Archives de l'Inde Francaise Pondicherry I.

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possible to achieve that, and with the capture of Bombay; but my principal objective will always be Bengal, towards the possession of which every preceding move must tend. If it were possible to attack Bengal first with success, I would certainly advise to go there straight, because Bengal, by her infinite resources in men, munitions and provisions of all kinds, is the source of the English power. The peninsula has much greater need of Bengal than Bengal of the peninsula; Bengal is self-sufficient.

"I have reason to fear that the English both of Bombay and of Madras may succeed through the intermediary of the Viceroy of the Deccan to terminate the war which they are carrying on against the Marathas by a treaty, by which, promising to restore to them all the territories which they had lost, they may engage the Marathas to form an alliance against Hyder Ali Khan. It is very doubtful that this Prince would be able to defend himself against such an assault. In short, that is a supposition which would make things the worst possible, but despite that, it must not stop us, because whatever treaty may be concluded between the Marathas and the English, it is certain that on the arrival of our forces the Marathas will join us against them if we make the proposal to them. One can see from the "memoires" and letters sent from Pondicherry since 1771 that they have continuously urged us to unite with them .. ..By means of skilfully conducted negotiations we shall succeed in conciliating the interest of Hyder Ali Khan with those of the Marathas, in uniting them by exposing all the wickedness of the English policy, and in engaging them to work in concert with us in order to reduce the power of that nation ...."

Law gave the following estimate about the naval and land forces of the English. They had 8 ships of the line, about 20 or more frigates, of which half had from 20 to 30 pieces of cannon and the rest a smaller number. The land forces, including artillery, comprised of 9,000 men belonging to the European class, of which, in fact, a substantial portion consisted of half-castes or descendants of miscellaneous European elements, principally Portuguese, recruited mostly from the Malabar coast. In the French army in India these people were never included in the European group. The English had besides 1,000 to 1,200 Europeans, Hussars or Dragons, 5 to 6 thousand Indian cavalry and about 60 to 70 thousand sepoys, the last two groups being armed and trained in the European fashion and officered by Europeans. Of these forces, the following numbers were stationed on the Malabar coast, both in the island of Bombay and on the mainland : 4,000 Europeans, including artillery; 400 Hussars; 2,000 Indian cavalry; 20,000 sepoys. Each sepoy battalion consisted of 700 to 900 men, and had 18 officers and 8 sergeants. The estimate given above was exclusive of the forces of their Indian allies, which the English would surely get both in Bengal and on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel. The force which the English could actually put in the field on the Malabar coast would be 3,000 Europeans, 300 Hussars, 2,000 cavalry, and 16,000 sepoys. If they got timely information about the French expedition, they could send to the Malabar coast from Bengal and the Coromandel coast an additional force of 1,000 European infantry, 200 to 300 Hussars, some trained cavalry and 8 to 10 thousand sepoys.

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In order to destroy the English fleet, capture Bombay and Surat, defeat the land forces of the English on the Malabar coast, and carry on further operations in alliance with Indian Powers, the French would require a force very strong in European element, specially since they lacked in sepoy element which took a long time to raise and train up. They would require a naval squadron of 12 ships of the line, of which 4 having 74 cannons and two 70, 4 strong frigates, 4 lighter frigates, and 4 long boats The land forces were to consist of 10,000 infantry, 800 artillery, 1,000 Dragons, and 200 workmen, miners, sappers etc., in all 12,000 men. To them should be added some good engineers, geographers, and 2 to 4 thousand negroes, who could man the artillery both on land as well as on the ships and could on occasions be utilised as sepoys. To each regiment or battalion should be joined a certain number of cadets or volunteers destined to be officers, who could be used to train and officer sepoy regiments as they were raised from time to time. In addition to these forces reinforcements should at the same time be sent to the Isles of France and Bourbon in proportion to the reinforcements which England might send to India.

Regarding funds required for the expedition, Law stated, "It is necessary that besides the funds at the disposal of the Commander of the squadron for all expenses connected with the navy, and without taking account of the money necessary for all the expenses to be incurred in the Isles of France and Bourbon, the Commander in charge of the expedition should take with him 12,000 (livres) to be spent only in India".

Law next discussed the question of the time and plan of military operations. If the expedition started from France at the end of December 1780, it would reach the Isles of France and Bourbon in June 1781, and after the necessary preparations there it might reach the Malabar coast in November 1781. The first decisive blow should be struck against the English fleet, which at that time of the year would be cruising off the western coast. But if it fled away at the sight of a stronger French squadron, it would be no use wasting valuable time in pursuing it. It was necessary for the French to capture Bombay immediately on arrival in Indian waters, in order to acquire a safe port for their ships. For that purpose Law wanted the French squardon to arrive in September when the English fleet would be to the south of Ceylon, and Bombay, not expecting any attack in the interval between two monsoons, could be surprised and taken. It would give the French Commander 40 to 50 days' time complete negotiations with the Marathas and Hyder Ali before the English squadron could appear. An even better plan would be to send to the Isle of France, as soon as the expedition was decided upon, orders to despatch all available troops and vessels to the Bay of St. Augustin in the island of Madagascar in June 1781. The main fleet would start from France in December 1780 and arrive at the Cape of Good Hope in April 1781. From there the Commander would send instructions to the Isle of France to complete the previously arranged preparations. The fleet would start from the Cape of Good Hope at the beginning of June 1781, and after being joined on the way by the division from the Isle of France would reach the Malabar

coast about the middle of August, when the weather would begin to improve. Bombay could be easily surprised and captured. But the success of the enterprise depended on complete secrecy, and none but the Commander of the expedition and the Chief of the squardon was to know that the destination was India. The English could be caught unawares, as they would be under the impression that the French expeditionary force could not possibly come straight to India without stopping at the Isle of France for sometime.

The actual time of the expedition to Bengal, either before or after the reduction of the English settlements on the Coromadel coast, should be left to the discretion of the Supreme Commander. In order to assure success, Bengal must be attacked simultaneously from three sides, north, middle and south. As soon as the expedition against the province had been decided upon, 4,000, additional troops including the Dragons, and 4,000 sepoys should be despatched to the frontier to effect a junction with the troops already sent. This move would put the English into difficulty about the distribution of their forces and if the French penetrated into Bengal through Burdwan as well as by the Ganges with the rest of their land forces together with a part of their navy, it would give them sure victory over the English. The victory over the English would be all the easier, if at the same time the Seths carried on intrigues against them.

On the question of reinforcement Law stated, "I believe it to be prudent, if not necessary, to despatch to the Isle of France on transport vessels, seven or eight months after the expedition, 3,000 regular troops, including 600 artillery, to be sent to India on the order of the Supreme Commander. The boats should carry sails and riggings for the ships, munitions of war of all kinds, and 12 millions in cash, the whole for India, and they should be escorted by two ships of the line to replace those which it might be necessary to send back. I wish these reinforcements may not be required, and it can even be expected so; but the greatest safety lies in sending them, because it happens very often that the most decisive blows are delayed by circumstances which cannot be foreseen and that they fail through mere want of money".

Law next discussed the necessity of concentrating authority in the hands of one person. "One of the principal causes of our failure in the last war, at least in India, was the division of command, since our land and naval forces had their commanders in chief independent of each other". Law wanted that the Commander of the Army should be appointed Supreme Commander with authority extending from the Cape of Good Hope to China, and even the islands of France and Bourbon should be under his control. If, however, there be not available any person who could be entrusted with such heavy responsibility and power, it would be necessary to constitute a military and political Council, consisting of the Army Commander who would have the title of Supreme Commander, two Army officers, the Naval Commander and two Naval officers. Such a Council was to be invested with supreme authority over all forces, plans and operations, and the majority decision was to prevail. The Supreme Commander was

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to be the President of the Council and was to look to the execution of its decisions, for which he was to be authorised to give the most peremptory orders to the Naval Commander.

Law concluded his "Memoire" with the suggestions about the appointment of able and trusted agents to carry on negotiations with Indian Princes, a Divan who was to be the principal officer of confidence with respect to the country powers, some Waquils to serve as diplomatic agents, and some Munshis to write letters and to pass on orders. These people could on occasions also serve as interpreters. Law expressed a very unfavourable opinion about the honesty and reliability of Indians for such confidential work, and he feared that their natural greed for money would lead them to be exploited by the English, which might completely ruin the French enterprise in India. He therefore suggested that suitable men should be recruited from Turkey, where there were many Muhammedan and Christian families attached to France.

Such was the plan of military operations in India put forward by Jean Law de Lauriston. Although he condemned Chevalier's plan as being based on over-optimism, he completely believed in the success of his own plan. It would be interesting, however, to notice here the reaction of de Bellecombe, his successor as Governor of Pondicherry. Bellecombe in his "Reflexions on the Memoire of Law"[1] regarded the plan as a mere chimera and stated : "The means asked for by Law, supposing that the Government be in a position to employ them, can never be adequate to drive the English out of India, if we do not have in other parts of the world an absolute superiority over that Power; otherwise even when the greatest successes were achieved in India it would be necessary to restore all the conquests which had cost us so dear ....." But Bellecombe agreed that for success in India the first thing necessary was to send a formidable fleet to destroy the English navy, and that Bombay must be captured before starting operations in other areas.

Law envisaged an expedition on a much grander scale than had ever before been attempted by France. Who knows how the course of events in India would have shaped if the French Government had accepted the plan in its entirety and had tried to execute it with promptitude and vigour ? It would be interesting therefore to notice how the organisation and operations of the expeditionary force sent by France under the command of Bussy differed from the plan put for ward by Law. In the first place, Law wanted the expeditionary force to be despatched immediately; it was to start from France in December 1780 and was to reach India in September or November 1781. That would have given the French a much longer time for military operations in India. But, in fact, the first detachments under Duchemin reached India in March 1782, and the rest of the force under Bussy arrived in March 1783. just a few months before the news of the armistice in Europe, which stopped all hostilities in India. In the second place, Law proposed a squadron of 12 ships of the line and 12 frigates as being necessary to destroy the English naval forces in

1. No. 323, Manuscrits des Anciennes Archives de l'Inde Francaise, Pondichery I.

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Indian waters. But, in fact, the largest fleet which de Suffren had under him, at the time of the naval combat off Cuddalore on the 20th June 1783, consisted of 15 ships as against 18 of the English[1]. Then again, Law proposed an army of 12,000 Europeans and a reinforcement of 3,000, besides coloured troops from the Isles of France and Bourbon. In fact, the army under Duchemin consisted of about 2,800 men,[2] and that under Bussy about 2,300[3]; at the time of the siege of Cuddalore by the English in June 1783 the French army had been reduced to only 2,300 Europeans, about one-fifth of the number wanted by Law.[4] In the third place, Law wanted military operations to be started on the Malabar coast, with the first blow being struck against Bombay, whereas the French frittered away their efforts on the Coromandel coast and no attempt was made to land troops on the Malabar coast. In the fourth place, Law regarded an alliance with the Marathas as being more desirable for the French than an alliance with Hyder Ali. That was also the view of many other Frenchmen with firsthand knowledge of the Indian political situation. But, in fact, the French clung to their alliance with Hyder Ali, and the proposals of the Marathas were treated with mistrust and an undue caution. Lastly, Law never expected that the command of the expeditionary force would be left in the hands of such timid and unenterprising men as Duchemin and Bussy showed themselves to be.

A GLIMPSE INTO THE THUGEE PAPERS IN THE SAUGOR RECEIPTS AND ISSUES OF THE MISCELLANEOUS SECTION OF THE FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.

H. L. GUPTA

The Saugor Receipts and Issues of the Miscellaneous Section of the Foreign Department preserved in the National Archives of India in six manuscript volumes reveal a very interesting account of the Thugs—their nature, habits, customs, superstitions, beliefs, dress, disguises, code, signals, organization, trade, haunts, period of exploits, mode of searching their prey, means adopted to lure travellers into a net of destruction, mode of escaping from punishments when arrested and the methods adopted by the British authorities for their eventual suppression. The mantle of suppressing the scourge which was essentially an outcome of British policy had fallen on Mr. F. C. Smith, the Agent to the Governor-General in Saugor and Narbada territories. On his arrival at Saugor he was informed that ever since 1823 a number of persons were confined into different jails under charge of Thugee without having had any regular trial and punishment. He,

1. Maellson—Les Dernieres Luttes des Francais dans l'Inde et sur l' Ocean Indien (traduit et annote par Gaudart) p. 71-72.
2. Ibid p. 18.
3. Ibid p. 62.
4. Ibid p. 65 "It results from all that, that I can take from here only about 2,000 men, and that on my arrival in India I cannot get together more than 3 000 men"—Bussy's letter to Marquis de Casturis, 18th December 1782—No. 398, Manuscrits des Anciennes Archives de I Inde Francaise, Pondicherry, I.

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therefore, ordered his assistant, Captain Sleeman to investigate those cases and himself proceeded to devise means to suppress Thugee in India and particularly in its central regions. Having studied the problem thoroughly he found in Sleeman a person best fitted to organize the suppression of their "dreadful trade of blood." Owing to his minute local knowledge and great insight into the problems of the Central Indian regions and the habits, haunts and history of the Thugs, the Governor-General approved his appointment and entrusted to him the difficult task of exterminating the evil. Sleeman selected his headquarters at Saugor owing to its central position and the vicinity of the haunts of the Thugs to it. It was considered to be the most strategic place where extirpation of Thugee could be planned and executed with success and from where alarm could be created among that "fraternity of stranglers."

The approvers' accounts recorded in those papers give innumerable names of the Thugs who committed murders and highway robberies in many villages and on many roads except where their families resided. However, their chief haunts were Bundelkhand, Central India, Malwa, the eastern part of Rajputana and certain districts of U.P. like Jhansi Banda, Hamirpur, Allahabad Manipur, Etawa, Kanpur, Fatehpur, Mirzapur and other places on the river Jamuna or its vicinity. The names of villages and towns of Central India which occur too often in the Records are Gumheria, Rehli, Kareli, Rahatgarh, Narsingpur, Chindwara, Kampti, Jubbulpur and several others. Other places associated with the Thugs were several states like Hyderabad, Gwa lior, Bhopal, Indore, Bharatpur, Jaipur, Jhansi, Tehri, Datia and several other small estates of Bundelkhand and Central India. Chilla-ghat, Jhansi-ghat, and Narbadaghats were notorious for frequent murders. The Thugs issued from their haunts in the villages of Central India, travelled about in disguises of government servants, courtiers of states, respectable travellers and religious pilgrims and wherever possible they indulged in terrible proceedings and perpetrated blood-curlding crimes without mercy or considerations of any kind.

The strangling excursions undertaken in favourable times by these marauding bands of unsocial elements had made life and property completely insecure, hampered trade, traffic and transport and made dusk-to-dawn travel a very hazardous enterprise. Road and Ghat murders had become events of daily occurrence. From the approver, Syed Amir Ali's, deposition transmitted to government on the 22nd May 1832 it is clear that dreadful calamities had befallen the bankers, the moneyed interests and the commercial houses of Bombay, Deccan and Central India. Many pilgrims, travellers, numerous munshies and other respectable persons, government servants and even the relatives of Nawab Ghaffor Khan had fallen victims to these miscreants' love of plunder. So great was the enormity of crimes that Amir Ali alone had witnessed more than 700 murders and the people were found completely panic-stricken.

To curb the nefarious and criminal activies of of this atrocious class of savage murderers was a responsibility of the British authorities. Sleeman who occupied the high office of the superintendent for the suppression of the Thugs was given extraordinary powers of seizing the Thugs and bringing them to trial and condign punishment.

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The magistrates of the districts afforded active cooperation in removing the criminal gangs and disturbers of peace and security. In Bundelkhand, owing to the Political Agent Mr. Ainslie's drastic measures and keen vigilance, the Thugs no longer found that province a secure refuge for them and their families. Of the Indian states, the Rajas of Jhansi and Datia afforded every assistance in their power for which the former was granted a khureeta in the summer of 1831. The activities of the rulers and officials of the states of Central India and Bundelkhand, who were suspected of sheltering or protecting the Thugs, either avowedly or tacitly, were closely watched and they were black-listed. The minister of Tehri was actually charged with misconduct for having obstructed the execution of British policy in his state.

The Political Agents of Bharatpur, Jaipur, and particularly of Gwalior took serious objections to the proceedings of the Tug-hunters and showed cold shoulder to their work as the authority of the rulers of their states was violated and their own susceptibilities were hurt by the method of apprehending and seizing the Thugs without their permission, cooperation and consultation. As a result, the British authorities felt that without cooperation of those states their efforts would not succeed properly and it was feared that Gwalior would become a chief assylum for the Thugs and in that way the "snake would only be scotched and not killed". Owing to this difficulty in apprehending the Thugs thus caused in Gwalior, Mr. W. Macnaughton, secretary to government wrote the following to R. Cavendish, Resident at Gwalior on the 24th June 1832.

"As the parties of Thugs carry their depredations in the course of one season through a variety of independent states to the remotest corners of India, it is next to impossible that any one of the protected states can possess the information beforehand which would enable it to apprehend them while they are in progress through its own territories. The rapidity of their movements and the disguise they assume generally secure them from detection upon the spot and by the time murders are discovered they passed on to another jurisdiction where they cannot be followed. In short, it is only by a well-combined system of all India operations that the miscreants can be brought to justice as were the Pindaries".

Ultimately the cooperation of all the Political Agents was obtained and vigorous measures were adopted to check and, if possible, to remove the "great combination against lives and properties of all travellers throughout India". Pledged to put down the Thugs, Captain Sleeman and Smith devoted their entire time, thought and energies to the successful accomplishment of the task assigned to them. Their efforts met with eminent success. In the year 1830-31 Smith held twenty-six trials and tried 345 prisoners. The roads were swept with detachments of armies as far as Baroda to the south-west and Bundelkhand in the North-west and the entire central India from the Narbada to Rajputana and from the Ganges-Jamuna doab to the remotest eastern corner of Bundelkhand was encircled with troops. In the south, the campaign for the arrest of numerous gangs of the Thugs was opened with much success by the British officers headed by Major Stewart, the Resident of Hyderabad.

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Smith classed the Thugs into three categories A, B and C. On full proof of having been a leader of the gang or of having strangled a person or aided and assisted therein, the Thug was classified as class A criminal and was sentenced to death. A person who was known to be a Thug but against whom no sufficient evidence was available he was classified into group B and was sentenced to transportation for life. Similar sentence was awarded to those who rendered "superior ministerial duties" like grave digging and removing of dead bodies. For performing "inferior ministerial services" such as maintaining watch the thug were imprisoned for fourteen years. Lastly, the persons reported to be present but not having taken any part belonged to group C and were imprisoned for seven years. The terms of pardon granted to approvers were exemption from punishment of death and from transportation for life. On the whole, the progress of the scheme for the extirpation of the Thugs was satisfactory. The first annual report for the year 1830-31 compiled by Smith in 1832 was applauded by the Central Government.

The records also reveal that F. C. Smith had certain set of views about the Thugs. He termed them as a "race" and their organization as a "confederacy". He regarded them as 'the sworn, natural and irreconcilable enemies of mankind united by a bond of depraved religion in their compact with each other', and considered 'the crimes they were convicted of as abhorrent to human nature'. His despatch of June 1832 to George Swinton, Chief Secretary to Govenment in the Political Department, although a very strongly worded document containing hasty and impulsive conclusions, is an important annual report on the trials of the Thugs in 1831. Stating that the numerous gangs of professional murderers infested every part of India from the Sutlej to Cape Comorin and that curse of Thugeeism was proved to have been introduced in India by the first Muhammedan conquerors, he makes the following concluding remarks.

"It is probable, such dreadful disclosures of the villainy and bloodthirsty character of the people of India, for the Thugs are taken from all classes of the community, was never before submitted to the abhorrence of Government. In all my experience in the judicial line for upwards of twenty years, I never heard of such atrocities in presiding over such trials. Such cold-blooded murders, such heart-rending scenes of distress and misery, such base ingratitude, such a total abandonment of every principle which binds man to man, which softens the heart and elevates mankind above the brute creation were probably never before brought to the notice of a court of justice. Well do these outlaws describe themselves when they unblushingly avow that they stand towards mankind in the same relation that tigers do to cattle. Ruthless, regardless of shedding blood, indifferent to caste, sex or age, incapable of reformation, when once they have tasted blood, they are the public, avowed but insidious, enemies of mankind and wage a war of extermination with all they meet on the high ways and bye-ways. Mercy to such wretches would be the extreme of cruelty to mankind and they must be met in their own ways by a rigid adherence to the laws of taboo-blood for blood'.

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As it was the aim of Smith and others associated with the suppression of the Thugs to rouse the indignation of British functionaries against the horrible murders it was quite natural for them to condemn their deeds in strong and hyperbolic language. The statement that Thugee originated on the first Muslim conquest and continued to exist ever since for several centuries was a travesty of truth and was based on grossest disregard of known facts. In his statement he once confessed his inability to decide how far his zeal was tempered by judgment and discrimination. In his condemnation of this evil system he seems to have been led away largely by impulse. In fact Thugee was essentially a product of Hastings's time. Practically nothing was known about it before Wellesley and little after him. But during Hastings's time the Maratha, the Pindari, and other wars, fought in Central India on the south of the river Jamuna, and the consequent disbandment of India army, removal of government servants, and general unemployment among the people, led to the emergence of Thugee in a large scale and in an organized form. The absence of a settled government and the chaotic political conditions of the time gave impetus to it. Hence it was a symptom of a disease in the political organism of the country which reflected disturbed and distrocted state after Hastings's unscrupulous war policy of exterminating the Marathas, weakness of administration and negligence of duty on the part of the new masters to rehabilitate the people dispossessed of their estates, position, property and livelihood. In other words it indicated the deficiencies in the body politic of British administration and their inability for some year to control the forces let loose by their own war policy and the consequent need of starting schemes of consolidation which were undertaken with vigor under Lord Amherst and with considerable success by Bentinck. But for the untold economic misery of the people these horrible tragedies would not have been enacted. Amir Ali clearly says that the people of the gang who murdered the Insurance Peon were at that time starving otherwise they would never have touched him. That the wars of Hastings's time had completely dislocated the political, economic and social life of the country and had given impetus to unsocial acts of plunder and murder, in the tracts most suited for this trade, cannot be challenged with success. That the means of obtaining livelihood through Thugee, robbery and other crimes were taken as the most convenient alternatives left to the distressed and unemployed individuals and the disbanded and discharged soldiery cannot be disputed. To regard the horrible activities of the Thugs as their pastime or their hereditary occupation would be tartamount to a refusal to recognise facts. A minute analysis of these criminal practices would reveal that they were mostly prevalent in the tracts of India south of the river Jamuna where the problem of unemployment among the civil and military classes was acute.

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INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS ASSOCIATION

Minutes of the Business Meeting (Delhi Session) 1948

The Annual Business Meeting of the Indian History Congress Association was held on Monday, December 27, 1943, in the Delhi University buildings. Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. D. V. Potdar was in the chair.

MEMBERS PRESENT

1. Mahrajkumar Dr. Raghubir Singh
2. Prof. H. K. Sherwani
3. Shri B. N. Puri
4. Dr. Nandalal Chatterji
5. Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari
6. Dr. K. K Datta
7. Prof. K. H. Kamdar
8. Shri N. N. Ghosh
9. Shri Parmanand
10. Principal F. C. Arora
11. Prof. Jagannath
12. Prof. H R. Ghosal
13. Dr. Pratul C. Gupta
14. Shri S P. Sen
15. Shri Benudhar Sharma
16. Shri B. Singh
17. Shri R. K. Dasgupta
18. Shri Kalyan Kumar Ganguli
19. Shri G. N. Dwivedi
20. Dr. T. S. Shejwalkar
21. Shri R. Narasimha Rao
22. Shri V. G. Hatalkar
23. Dr. P. M. Joshi
24. Shri G. M. Moraes
25. Dr. V. D. Rao
26. Dr. G. N. Saletore
27. Shri R. G. Gyani
28. Dr. Hira Lal Gupta
29. Dr. M. Rama Rao
30. Dr. R. P. Tripathi
31. Shri K. N. Dutt
32. Shri K. Dutta
33. Shri M. R. Majumdar
34. Shri S. R. Das
35. Shri B. C. Sen
36. Dr. D. K. Sirkar
37. Shri J. N Sarkar
38. Dr. S. N. Sen
39. Swami Sankarananda
40. Dr. V. Narayana Pillai
41. Dr. C. C. Das Gupta
42. Rev. Fr. H Heras, S. J.
43. Shri D. G. Mahajan
44. Shri T. V. Mahalingam
45. Shri R. Subba Rao
46. Dr. J. N. Banerjea
47. Shri Parmanand Acharya
48. Shri Kali Das Kapur
49. Dr. D. C. Ganguly
50. Shri Shan Ra Shende
51. Dr. R N. Dandekar
52. Dr. A. S. Altekar
53. Sardar Ganda Singh
54. Shri B. R. Kulkarni
55. Shri S. L. Poplai
56. Dr. V. K. Deshpande
57. Dr. P. Saran
58. Shri Sita Ram Kohli
59. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad
60. Dr. B. P. Saksena
61. Shri O. P. Bhatnagar

1. The Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

2. The following resolutions of condolence were moved from the chair and were passed, all standing.

(i) The Indian History Congress Association places on record its deep sense of sorrow and loss at the demise of Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Indian Nation.

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(ii) The Indian History Congress Association places on record its sense of loss at the death of Shri N. C. Kelkar, whose services to the cause of the History of India particularly the History of the Marathas, are well-known, and who offered cooperation to our scheme of the History of India.

(iii) The Indian History Congress Association places on record its sense of loss at the death of Dr. Sten Konow, a great Indologist.

3. The Association adopted the Annual Report for 1948 (Appendix B') as recommended by the Executive Committee.

4. The Treasurer presented the audited statement of accounts of income and expenditure from 1st April 1947 to 31st March 1948 (Appendix 'C') as recommended by the Executive Committee. It was resolved to record it.

5. The budget estimates of income and expenditure for the year 1949-50 (Appendix 'D') as recommended by the Executive Committee were presented by the Treasurer and approved.

6. The President reported the names of the office-bearers for 1949 and the President and Sectional Presidents for 1949, as elected by the Executive Committee.

President:		Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. D. V. Potdar.
Vice Presidents:	1.	Dr. Tara Chand.
	2.	Prof. Mohammad Habib.
General Secretary:		Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad.
Joint Secretary:		Mr. O. P. Bhatnagar.
Treasurer:		Dr. B. P. Saksena.
President for 1949 Session:		Dr. R. P. Tripathi.
Sectional presidents	Sec. I	Dr. V. S. Agarwala.
	Sec. II	Dr. D. C. Ganguli.
	Sec. III	Mr. R. G. Gyani.
	Sec. IV	Dr. K. R. Qanungo.
	Sec. V	Dr. N. K. Sinha.

7. The following were elected members of the Executive Committee for the year 1949.

1. Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari
2. Dr. S. N. Sen.
3. Dr. K. K. Datta
4. Dr N. L. Chatterji.
5. Dr. P. M. Joshi.
6. Dr. D. C. Sircar.
7. Dr. A. S. Altekar.
8. Dr. R. C. Majumdar.
9. Dr. R. N. Dandekar.
10. Dr. R. S. Tripathi.
11. Mr. R. G. Gyani.
12. Dr. J. N. Banerjea.
13. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.
14. Shri N. N. Ghosh.

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8. The Association considered the invitations sent by the Hon'ble Shri Hare Krushna Mahatab, Premier, Orissa Government and the Nagpur University. It was decided to accept the invitation extended by the Orissa Government as recommended by the Executive Committee, to hold its next session in Orissa in 1949.

9. The Association adopted the following resolution recommended by the Executive Committee :

> "This Congress accepts in principle the proposal for the amalgamation of the scheme of the History of India sponsored by the Indian History Congress and the Bharatiya Itihas Parishad and empowers the following Committee to settle all the details connected with the amalgamation, with power to co-opt: (1) Dr. Rajendra Prasad, (2) Dr. Tara Chand and (3) Prof. D. V. Potdar".

10. The association adopted the following amendments to the Contitution of the Indian History Congress as recommended by the Executive Committee :

Sec. 7 (B) (i) fifth line, instead of "upto-date" read upto 1st December.

Sec. 10. Add the following clause and re-number further clauses:

(a). Considering resolutions proposed for the Business Meeting.

Sec. 19. It will read now as follows :

"The Local Secretary shall make all necessary arrangements for the session of the Congress and for the accommodation of members, the programme of meetings and other connected functions.

Section 22. It will read now as follows :

"All papers intended for reading at a session of the Congress shall embody either some original piece of research or a new interpretation of facts. The papers along with their summeries should reach the General Secretary at least two months before the date of the session. No paper should ordinarily exceed 10 typed foolscap pages. The summary outlining the main points of discussion or controversy should not exceed 350 words".

II. THE ASSOCIATION CONSIDERED THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTIONS BY PROFESSOR R. V. OTURKAR.

(i). This meeting of the Modern History Section requests the Secretary of the All India History Congress to call for the annual reports of the historical research work done at the various centres of historical research in the country, and to publish a short summary of the same as an appendix to the report of the proceedings of the annual session. This pooling of information will enable the students of history all over the country to know of the nature of activities going on at different centres.

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It was resolved that the resolution be recorded.

(ii). In view of the increasing number of papers read at the successive sessions from year to year, it is necessary to prepare topical and chronological indices of the papers read during the last ten sessions, so that the student need not have to refer to every volume before he can make himself sure of his finding about the subject of his study.

It was resolved that the consideration of the resolution be postponed.

12. The Association considered the following resolution by Shri B. R. Kulkarni:

The Rajwade Sanshodhak Mandal expresses its opinion that the Government of India with a view to advance the progress of historical and other research, should afford facilities to members of historical and other research institutions in the different provinces of India in the form of concession in railway fares for their journeys for attending the annual sessions of the Indian History Congress and similar other conferences of all India research associations, and also for paying visits to historical sites and important centres of different research activities.

It was resolved that the resolution be recorded.

13. The Association considered the resolutions of which notice had been given by Shri K. Rangarajam (Item 12, sub-paras (ix). (x) and xi of the minutes of the Exectuive Committee meeting (Appendix A).

It was resolved unanimously that the resolutions be not accepted.

14. The Association adopted the following resolution moved by Professor D. V. Potdar.

The Indian History Congress recommends to the Government of India to take effective steps for the establishment of Archæological Surveys and Archives in the new Unions and Governments formed out of the Indian States.

15. A Resolution of thanks was moved for the Reception Committee, the Vice-chancellor of the University of Delhi, and the volunteers who made earnest efforts to make the session of the Indian History Congress in Delhi successful. It was adopted with acclamation.

BISHESHWAR PRASAD.

General Secretary.

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INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS ASSOCIATION.

Minutes of the Executive Committee (Delhi Session) 1948.

The Annual Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress was held on the 25th December 1948 at 4-30 p. m. in the Staff Room of St. Stephen's College, Delhi. The following members were present :

1. Dr. S. N. Sen.
2. Prof. Mohammad Habib.
3. Dr. B. P. Saksena.
4. Dr. J. N. Banerjea.
5. Dr. Nandalal Chatterji.
6. Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari.
7. Dr. P. M. Joshi.
8. Dr. M. Rama Rao.
9. Prof. G. M. Moraes.
10. Dr. R. N. Dandekar.
11. Dr. Tara Chand.
12. Dr. K. K. Datta.
13. Dr. A. S. Altekar.
14. Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sircar.
15. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad.
16. Mr. O. P. Bhatnagar.
17. Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. D. V. Potdar (in the chair).

1. The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

2. The annual Report for the year 1948 (Appendix "A") was presented by the General Secretary and was recommended for adoption to the Business Meeting. A suggestion was made that membership must increase in number. Prof. D. V. Potdar offered to make a drive for membership.

3. Statements of accounts for the year 1947-48 (Appendix 'B') was recommended to the Business Meeting.

4. Budget estimates for the year 1949-50 (Appendix "C") as presented by the Treasurer were recommended for adoption to the Business Meeting.

In the connection with the item of printing of proceedings, the Treasurer sounded a note of warning that unless income increased it would not be possible to print the proceedings. With regard to the printing of proceedings, Dr. Tara Chand suggested that efforts should be made to sell the proceedings, and he pointed out that its sale would be easier if it could be printed in three parts, namely, Ancient, Medieval, and Modern.

5. The following were elected as office-bearers for the year 1949 :

President :		Prof. D. V. Potdar.
Vice Presidents :	1.	Dr. Tara Chand.
	2.	Prof. Mohammad Habib.
General Secretary :		Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad.
Joint Secretary :		Mr. O. P. Bhatnagar.
Treasurer :		Dr. B. P. Saksena.

6. The following were elected as President and Sectional Presidents for 1949 Session :

President :		Dr. R. P. Tripathi
Sectional Presidents :	Sec I	Dr. V. S. Agrawala
	Sec II	Dr. D. C. Ganguli
	Sec III	Mr. R. G. Gyani
	Sec IV	Dr. K.R. Qanungo
	Sec V	Dr. N. K. Sinha

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7. As regards the venue of the next session, the invitation of Hon'ble Shri Hare Krushna Mahatab, Premier of Orissa, was recommended to the Business Meeting for acceptance. The invitation of the Nagpur University was held over for 1950.

8. Messrs. G. P. Jaiswal and Co., Allahabad, were appointed Auditors for the year 1949.

9. The proposal to merge the two schemes of the History of India sponsored by the Indian History Congress and the Bharatiya Itihas Parishad was discussed. The Executive Committee approved the principle and recommended to the Business Meeting to appoint a Committee consisting of the following to consider the means of implementing it, with powers to co-opt:

Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

Dr. Tara Chand.

Prof. D. V. Potdar.

10. The question of starting a Journal by the Indian History Congress was taken up and it was decided that as long as the financial position of the Indian History Congress did not improve this suggestion could not be taken up.

11. The Executive Committee considered the Report of the Constitution Sub-Committee and recommended to the Business Meeting that the following amendments to the Constitution may be accepted:

Sec. 7 (B) (i) Fifth line instead of "uptc-date" read "upto 1st December"

Sec. 10. Add the following clause and re-number further clauses:

(a) Considering resolutions proposed for the Business Meeting.

Sec. 19. It will read now as follows:

"The Local Secretary shall make all necessary arrangments for the session of the Congress and for the accommodation of members, the programme of meetings and other connected functions".

Sec. 22. It will read now as follow:

"All papers intended for reading at a session of the Congress shall embody either some original piece of research or new interpretation of facts. The paper along with their summaries should reach the General Secretary at least two months before the date of the session. No paper should ordinarily exceed 10 typed foolscap pages. The summary outlining the main points of discussion or controversy, should not exceed 350 words;

12. The following resolutions of which notice had been given by members were recommended to the Business Meeting for discussion (Appendix A).

13. The appeal for funds for Children's Society issued by UNESCO was next considered and it was decided that it be recorded.

14. Action taken by the General Secretary in writing off the sum of Rs. 56 lost from the person of the Office Assistant during the session of the Indian History Congress in Bombay was approved.

BISHESHWAR PRASAD
General Secretary.

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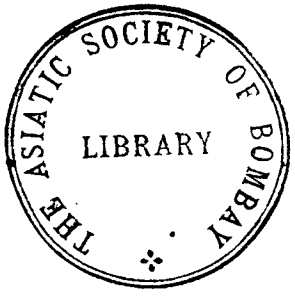
APPENDICES



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APPENDIX A.

By Professor R. V. Oturkar, Poona.

1. This meeting of the Modern History Section requests the Secretary of the All India History Congress to call for the annual reports of the historical research work done at the various centres of historical research in the country, and to publish a short summary of the same as an appendix to the report of the proceedings of the annual session. This pooling of information will enable the students of history all over to know of the nature of activities going on at different centres.

2. Secondly in view of the increasing number of papers read at the successive sessions from year to year, it is necessary to prepare topical and chronological indices of the papers read during the last ten sessions, so that the student need not have to refer to every volume before he can make himself sure of his finding about the subject of his study.

By Mr. B. R. Kulkarni, Rajwade Sanshondhan Mandal, Dhulia.

3. The Managing Committee of the Rajwade Sanshodhan Mandal, Dhulia (Historical Research Society) recommends that owing to the independent position the Indian Dominion has attained, the text books of Indian History taught in secondary schools and University colleges at present are not suitable and require to be recast to suit the present times. In view of this the Mandal proposes that the History Congress should appoint an all India Committee of historical scholars and research workers to consider this question and make concrete suggestions as regards the new text books to be prepared for the teaching of history in secondary school and University colleges.

4. The Rajwade Sanshodhan Mandal recommends that the Indian History Congress should undertake the publication of an authoritative annual volume containing the summaries of the latest researches regarding India's history carried on in India and abroad.

5. The Rajwade Sanshodhan Mandal expresses its opinion that the Government of India with a view to advance the progress of historical and other research, should afford facilities to members of historical and other research institutions in the different provinces of India in the form of concession in railway fares for their journeys for attending the annual sessions of the Indian History Congress and similar other conferences of all India research, historical sites and important centres of different research activities.

By Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, Lucknow University.

6. Resolved that the Indian History Congress should lay down the broad lines on which the history courses in Indian Universities should henceforth be framed, so as to remove the present diversity in scope and content, and to provide for a general uniformity with due provision for specialization in regional history.

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Resolved further that a sub-committee be formed for the aforesaid purpose.

7. Resolved that the Indian History Congress should constitute regional committees of its own to promote research in regional history.

By Mr. O. P. Bhatnagar, Allahabad University,

8. Resolved that a Central Historical Research Institute be established and that the Central and provincial Governments be requested to grant adequate financial assistance for the same.

By Mr. K. Rangarajam, Madras.

9. This Indian History Congress resolves that the proposed scheme for the preparation of a "Scientific and Comprehensive History of India" in 12 volumes under its auspices be dropped and that the funds, if any, so far collected be refunded to the donors concerned, since the materials now available for its compilation so far at least as the pre-Mussulman period of that history is concerned, are highly artificial, unnatural and thoroughly unreliable, and are not based as these should be solely and exclusively on Indian indigenous records and traditions, but in the main and in their most vital particulars on the dogmatic and unwarranted assumptions of overconfident, self-righteous, self-assertive and powerful foreign scholars of the 9th century, who. in their complete ignorance of the true spirit of Indian culture and civilisation, coupled with their undisguised and openly expressed contempt for Asiatic religions, practices, beliefs and institutions, in the first flush of their newly acquired historic sense which was then barely a few decades old, and in their exultation in the apotheosis of European supremacy in all fields including religion and polity :—

(i) had ridden rough-shod over such indigenous records and traditions.

(ii) had assigned inscriptional dates to wrong eras and had gone to the length of inventing non-existent eras in interpreting such dates where in many cases their equivalents in the Xian era rarely tallied with the astronomical particulars given in such inscriptions;

(iii) had relentlessly rejected evidence of every kind which did not fit in with their preconceived theories and prejudged views and prejudices about the trend of our ancient history:

(iv) had imputed base and dishonest motives to our ancestors, who had no incentive to fabricate records and who on the other hand appear to have been so ignorant and uncivilized that they never realised that knowledge was a marketable commodity and that universities could be raised to the dignity of joint-stock companies where high dividends could be paid to their constituents by selling knowledge at the best available prices;

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(v) had instead of first collecting facts and then formulating their theories, begun in the wrong direction by requiring facts to conform to their preconceived theories or take their exit ignominiously as frauds and forgerers, and FINALLY, TO CROWN ALL

(vi) had treated our venerable and highly distinguished Indian scholars as merely their paid tools to carry out their behests locally and unquestioningly, since the present system of examinations in Indian History and the awards of degrees and professerships which these foreign scholars had instituted required of these Indians to give unequivocal proofs that they had thoroughly understood and had fully accepted. Without any qualifications whatever, the major principles of interpretation put upon that subject by those foreigners, by answering the question papers during examinations in a way these foreign examiners expected them to answer, and not according to their own individual interpretations as warranted by the original Indian indigenous records.

As regards the Mussulman and Modern periods, the type of training which modern Indian scholars had received from the west, precluded the possibility of their ever viewing those subjects from the purely Indian point of view, where they should in a natural manner, indentify themselves with the lot of their own Indian monarchs, whether Moslem or Hindu, both in their joys and in their sorrows, and hence the writing of these two periods of Indian history must be left to posterity, since only such Indians as had drunk deep of the invigorating ambrosia of real freedom of the future, could write a true and unvarnished history of our motherland. Modern western trained Indian scholars could never discard their westen training and hence are least fitted to undertake the task of writing an Indian history to suit the requirements of an independent India.

Moreover it would be inaccurate and undignified for an assembly like the Indian History Congress to claim the authorship of the proposed scientific and comprehensive history for Indian scholars, since at best it could only be a compilation where the materials had definitely been borrowed from the writings of foreign scholars, possibly without adequate acknowledgement of their indebtedness to them, thereby giving a wrong impression in the minds of the reading public that the authorship of those volumes was really Indian, which was most certainly not.

10. This Indian History Congress resolves that no person who had submitted papers on the subject of Indian History to foreign Universities and had accepted Honours, Degrees, or emoluments in lieu thereof shall be eligible for membership in this Congress, as also such Indian scholars who had solicited foreigners to write forewords or prefaces to their publications on the subject of Indian History and had felt honoured by their compliance, since it should be obvious to any discerning person that such a conduct on the part of our scholars carries with it the implication that the foreigner should know more and better about matters Indian, than the Indians themselves which could never

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be true, if they had been true Indians. This servile mentality is possible only in India since no foreigner would care to submit papers on his own country's history to an Indian University, or accept a Ph.D. for it from the hands of an Indian.

11. This Indian History Congress hereby resolves that all references in current Histories of India, now taught to students in schools and colleges in India, as to the alleged existence at some period of time of a Race called "Aryan" and of their so-called 'Invasion' of India in the 2nd millenium B. C. shall be expunged immediately, and that this Resolution shall be communicated forthwith to the Educational Departments of the Government of India and of the Provincial Governments, for necessary action.

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APPENDIX. B.

Annual Report for 1948

The Indian History Congress has been in existence for over a decade and during these years its organization has been established on a sound footing. Its annual sessions have been attended by the representatives of the Governments, Central and Provincial, Indian States, Universities and learned associations; its membership has exceeded two hundred and the papers read at the sectional meetings have been of great merit. Yet the Indian History Congress has not so far succeeded in impressing its mark on our national life. The time has now arrived when this Association should, by its deliberations, determine the character and content of research and influence the course of historical studies in the Universities and colleges. The representative institution of the historians of India should contribute its share to the national development by focussing scientific and objective outlook on the study of the problems that face the nation.

2. The hope expressed in the last two years that the membership of the Association will rise to 500 has not yet been realised. There has been very little enrolment of new members; most of the old members have, however, continued to maintain their connection with the organization which they have done so much to build up. I take this opportunity to appeal to the younger scholars for their active association with the Indian History Congress, and I hope that next year a much larger membership will be possible. May I count on the co-operation of the existing members in this task?

3. As in previous years, representatives have been appointed by some of the Governments, Indian States, Universities and the learned associations. It is a pity that some Universities and Provincial Governments have not found it convenient to nominate their representatives. The Indian History Congress is for all purposes the national association of the historians of India and it is essential that all the Universities and Governments should actively participate in its deliberations. Some of the foreign Governments and Universities have this year sent their representatives to our session. To them I extend our warmest welcome and believe that in future a greater and wider measure of co-operation will be forthcoming. Knowledge knows no national bounderies. Co-ordination of research and exchange of notes on method and scope of study among the nations will be of mutual benefit.

4. For some years the need has been felt for Co-ordinating research and the Indian History Congress had planned to publish periodically information of the subjects of study pursued by different scholars. Unfortunately the response has not been satisfactory and it has not been practicable to implement this important objective.

5. Last year I had hoped that two volumes of the Comprehensive History of India would be sent to the press in the year 1948. I regret, however, to report that it has not been possible to do so owing

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to the unavoidably long time which editorial work essentially involves. Volume IX has now been edited and the publishers have been advised to make all arrangements for the printing to commence soon. The Editor of Volume V had to go abroad for some months, hence its editing has been delayed. I believe it will soon be completed. In addition to these two volumes, considerable progress has been made on Volumes I, II and III. But it will be futile to forecast any definite date for their preparation, for it is always the slowest vehicle which regulates the speed of the caravan. In such co-operative efforts any one contributor can hold up the progress of the whole volume. Yet I hope that the scholars will realize their responsibility and expedite their contributions to the various volumes, for which constant reminders are being issued.

6. One important factor in holding up the progress of the Comprehensive History of India has been the existence of two or three simultaneous projects of the History of India sponsored by different organizations, all depending on almost the same scholar for their contributions. This has affected the rate of progress of all the schemes. Realizing this difficulty, efforts had been made in the past for co-ordination of activity between the Indian History Congress and the Bharatiya Itihas Parished. This year an informal meeting of the editors of the Indian History Congress scheme and the member of the Bharatiya Itihas Parished council was held on July 11 at the residence of Dr. Rajendra Prasad and tentative suggessions were agreed to for the amalgamation of the two schemes. The details will be worked out only when the principle has been accepted by the Indian History Congress. I hope the matter will receive earnest consideration of the Indian History Congress Association and every endeavour will be made to achieve united action in the noble task of preparing an authoritative history of our national past.

7. We are grateful to the University of Delhi for so kindly inviting us to hold our session in the historic capital of India.

8. In the end I must express my most sincere gratitude to Professor Habib, the President, and Dr. Tara Chand and Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, our Vice-Presidents, for their unfailing support, guidance and inspiration. I have also to thank Mr. S. L. Poplai, the Local Secretary for his ungrudging co-operation and zealous efforts to make the session a success.

BISHESHWAR PRASAD,

General Secretary.

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APPENDIX C

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

Statement of income and expenditure for the period from 1st April 1947 to 31st March 1948.

	Dr. Rs. a. p.	Cr. Rs. a. p.
Last year's balance ...	...	3,705 0 3
Membership fee account ...	...	1,990 0 0
Life Membership fee ...	...	200 0 0
Sale of Proceedings ...	...	68 10 0
Donations ...	...	200 0 0
History of India Scheme (to be paid back)	...	2 1 6
Imperial Bank account ...	3,023 0 0	
Establishment charges ...	365 4 0	
Stationery ...	12 6 6	
Printing ...	422 0 9	
Postage and Telegrams ...	293 5 6	
Printing of Proceedings ...	1,708 8 0	
Bank Commission ...	7 2 6	
Audit Expenses ...	25 0 0	
Furniture ...	36 8 0	
Imprest to Joint Secretary (to be received)	93 14 0	
Miscellaneous ...	148 11 0	
Cash with Office ...	30 4 6	
Total ...	6,166 0 9	6,166 0 9

Opening balance for the year 1948-49

Imperial Bank Balance ...	3,023 0 0
Cash balance with office ...	30 4 6
Imprest with Joint Secretary ...	93 14 0
Total ...	3,147 2 6
Less History of India Scheme account to paid ...	2 1 6
Opening balance of 1948-49 ...	3,145 1 0

O. P. BHATNAGAR, *Joint Secretary.* BISHESWAR PRASAD, *General Secretary.* B. P. SAKSENA, *Treasurer.*

Examined with the books certified correct.

(Sd.) G. P. JAISWAL,
for Messrs. G. P. JAISWAL & Co.,
Registered Auditors
26-11-48.

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APPENDIX D

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

Budget Estimates for the year 1949–50.

	Actuals of 1947-48	Estimates of 1948-49	Estimates of 1949-50
INCOME	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Opening Balance	3,705 5 3		
Membership fee	1,990 0 0	2,500 0 0	2,000 0 0
Life Membership fee	200 0 0	500 0 0	200 0 0
Donations	200 0 0		
Sale of Proceedings	68 10 0	250 9 0	100 0 0
Total ..	6,163 15 0	3,250 9 0	2,300 0 0
EXPENDITURE			
Establishment	356 4 0	400 0 0	600 0 0
Printing of Proceedings	1,708 8 0	1 900 0 0	1,700 0 0
Printing and Stationery	434 7 3	300 0 0	500 0 0
Postage and Telegrams	293 5 6	300 0 0	300 0 0
Audit Expenses	25 0 0	25 0 0	25 0 0
Furniture	36 8 0	50 0 0	
Bank Commission	7 2 6	25 0 0	10 0 0
Miscellaneous expenses	143 11 0	100 0 0	50 0 0
Total ...	3,018 14 3	2,800 0 0	3,185 0 0

BISHESHWAR PRASAD,
General Secretary.

O. P. BHATNAGAR,
Joint Secretary.

B. P. SAKSENA,
Treasurer.

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LIST

OF

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54. Gupta, Dr. C. C. Das, M.A ,Ph.D., Presidency College, Calcutta.

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61. Gujar, Shri M. V., Shri Shivaji Preparatory Military School, Poona. 6

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119. Mahalingam, Shri T. V., Reader in History, Madras University, Madras.

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121. Nizami, Prof. Akhtar Husain, M.A., Darbar College, Rewa.

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123. Narayana, Mr. R., Ved Niwas, Bhandaji Road, Matunga Bombay 19.

124. Neogi, Mr. Dimbeswar, M.A., The Beauty Cot, Jorhat P.O., Assam.

125. Nanda, Prof. S. C., Ramjas College, Delhi.

126. Oturkar, Prof. R.V., M.A., Head of History Dept., Sir Parshuram Bhau College, Poona.

127. Parikh, Shri R. C., Director, B.J. Institute of Learning and Research, Gujrat Vidya Sabha, Gujrat.

128. Pachow, Dr. W., Lecturer in Chinese, Allahabad University.

129. Pillai, Prof V. Narayana, Mahatma Gandhi College, Trivandrum.

130. Pillai, Shri. N. Kunjan, Lecturer, University College, Trivandrum.

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138. Prasad, Dr. Bisheshwar, M.A.,D.Litt., Head of History Dept., Delhi Uiversity.

139. Puri, Shri B. N., M.A., Lecturer in History, Lucknow University.

140. Potdar, Prof. D. V., 77, Shanwar Path, Poona.

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